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Atomic Isolationism

THE discussion of atomic power has come down to earth. It is centered in the Johnson-May bill, which intrusts to the care of a nine-man commission the absolute control of the development of nuclear energy and related research activities. Since the commission would meet four times a year and be manned by dollar-a-year men, presumably with other business to attend to, the real authority is left in the hands of one full-time administrator. The possibilities of the abuse of this power are so great that Raymond Swing protested last Friday that "in the bill as now drawn control is vested in a way that might become a perfected fascist domination of our economic life. Certainly there is nothing in the bill to prevent it, there is everything to encourage it."

Just now the bill is being pushed with indecent haste through Senate and House. In the House Military Affairs Committee the hearings lasted only one day. With the exception of top administrators, not one of the important scientists who worked on the development of the bomb was called to testify. Apparently overawed by the War Department—which during a war gets into the habit of stepping out of the place assigned it in a free democracy—Representative May refused to reopen the hearings when urged to do so by Representative Helen Gahagan Douglas. But by the beginning of the week it was apparent that neither the general public nor the scientists were going to be stampeded into a decision that might determine the future destiny of our nation.

The Johnson-May bill sidesteps all the larger issues. There is no question of sharing the secret with others, of creating an international body to control the bomb, of consolidating a world organization to prevent a third world war, in which the bomb would be put to a fatal test. It discusses the issue of atomic power in such narrow terms of national security that we have very strong suspicions the bill came straight from the War Department to the desks of Senator Johnson and Representative May. For the War Department is apt to think in strategic categories that fail utterly to comprehend the world problem with which the achievement of nuclear fission has confronted us.

The argument behind the bill runs like this. The menace of atomic power is so great that its production must remain a closely guarded secret for as long as possible. The basic knowledge in the field of nuclear physics is of course widespread. But the specialized knowledge necessary to industrial production of bombs or power is still in our hands. It must remain there for as long as possible, and all research must be carefully controlled and directed so that when the secret is discovered by other nations we shall by that time be far ahead of them in perfecting the process, which now may be regarded as in a primitive state.

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To this argument the plain man, with very little knowledge of nuclear physics but with a memory for events in the past year or two, asks how safe in fact shall he be against comparatively primitive missiles—say, bombs of the Hiroshima or Nagasaki variety—traveling at the speed of V-2's. For even primitive atomic bombs, it seems to him, can be classed as terminal weapons. It is here the military men are being either stupid or dishonest in speaking of counter-measures. It is perhaps for this reason that they are loath to have free testimony from the scientists who were responsible for the development of the bomb. Fortunately several groups of scientists have courageously spoken out, and it is vitally important that they and others be called to testify before the Committee on Military Affairs. The navy statement regarding counter-measures was at once challenged by the Atomic Scientists of Chicago. The main approach of the Johnson-May bill was called into question by a clear statement in favor of international control by Dr. Robert G. Wilson for the Association of Los Alamos Scientists. Dr. Wilson said:

> The fact that the atomic bomb represents such a concentrated form of destructive energy makes counter-measures against each of the large number of possible methods of delivery extremely difficult and uncertain. . . . One proposition is for this country to have more and bigger bombs than other countries. Merely having more bombs than other countries is not decisive if another country has enough bombs to demolish our cities and stores of weapons. The overwhelming advantage will lie with the aggressor, and our superiority might be lost in the first five minutes of a surprise attack.

The bill that is now being crowded through Congress with hysterical urgency provides a frail shield of national defense. Moreover, if the autocratic powers of the administrator are used as they may well be used, the free scientists of America are going to refuse to function within the strait-jacket into which they have been strapped. Most seriously of all, this measure, put forward as a domestic policy, actually represents the commitment of the United States to a particularly vicious form of isolationist foreign policy. We may pay lip service to the United Nations Organization, send our representatives to international conferences, but we hold in our own hand the power of life and death over the nations of the world. Such a policy would tend to emphasize rather than heal the rifts in international society today—particularly the rift between Russia and this country allied with Britain. The more firmly we insist upon unilateral control of the atomic bomb the more difficult it will be to persuade others that our faith in a world organization is genuine.

The Johnson-May bill ought to be thought of at best as a stop-gap measure to protect us from the misuse of this awful weapon until international controls have been devised to insure the safety of all peoples. But even regarding it as a stop-gap, it is important to take all the time necessary for hearings and Congressional discussion so that the most undemocratic, and potentially fascist, provisions of the present bill will be eliminated. Those who are placed in positions of authority under the act should also be those who regard international control as of paramount importance. The commission should be fully representative of the public, the scientists, and the armed services—and in the above order of precedence.

The valley of decision in which we find ourselves is in fact the valley of the shadow of death. Fortunately for us the war has shown that our nation has a creative imagination, a capacity for drastic choice, an aptitude for international co-operation in the presence of great danger and for the achievement of a high objective. They must be summoned to meet the present crisis, more menacing than any we faced during the war. A candid appraisal of our world today reveals just how difficult the achievement of international organization and the elimination of international distrust will be. Nor is it any wiser to repudiate the minor gains of San Francisco and sigh for world government than it is to accept the London breakdown as a final demonstration of the great powers' inability to reach basic agreement. We have to move toward world organization step by step, or, if you like, crisis by crisis. The important thing to realize is that whereas yesterday we had an era in which to reach our goal, today, by the longest stretch of the imagination, we have a few years.

The Shape of Things

A SPECTER IS HAUNTING THE IMPERIAL NATIONS, the specter of virile Asiatic nationalism. Under the jarring impact of war deep fissures have appeared in the onerous colonial system, fissures which the resurgent nationalist movements may broaden into a complete crack-up. It is no flight of rhetoric to say that one-fourth of mankind—the colonial peoples of Asia—are on the march under mature and effective leadership. These peoples have suffered deeply and learned much during the last five years. They learned first that their European masters were not only hopelessly incapable of defending them but also obdurately unwilling to let them defend themselves. Under Japanese occupation leftist anti-Japanese guerrillas emerged in all the colonies and acquired political and military skills and arms they do not hesitate to use against non-Japanese imperialists. During the same period, many of that fringe of nationalists who tried to use the Japanese as a blow-torch to cut through their colonial shackles had their hands badly burned. But they have not lost their hatred for the shackles. The growth and development of these movements in Burma, Indo-China, Indonesia, Malaya, and other colonial areas during the recent past are an exciting and important but little known part of contemporary history. It is of the greatest import that virtually all of these submerged countries have made substantial progress toward uniting disparate political, religious, and national groups on a common anti-imperialist and anti-feudal platform. These new liberation coalitions are not to be dissuaded by pontifical Dutch promises, high-blown French phrases, or involved British constitutional trickery. They will accept only substantial and constructive reforms looking to early independence.

*

ON SEPTEMBER 17, JUST FIVE DAYS BEFORE THE Foreign Ministers' Conference deadlocked on the question whether the procedure adopted did or did not violate the Potsdam agreement, a report by American economic advisers

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attached to the Office of Military Government was made available to Allied commanders in Berlin. The task set this group of "experts" by Brigadier General William F. Draper (in civilian life a member of the investment firm of Dillon, Read and Company, which financed many German industrial concerns in the twenties) was to determine how much industrial machinery would be available for reparations *after* a minimum standard of living had been provided for the Germans. The directive appears to have construed the Potsdam statement that this standard "should not exceed" the European average as meaning it should at least equal this average. At any rate it was on this basis that the experts found that German exports would have to be maintained at about the pre-war level in order to pay for needed imports of food. Moreover, they stated, half such exports would have to consist of machinery, chemicals, precision instruments, and optical goods—all products of industries with a high war potential. Moscow apparently saw in this report: (a) an attempt to reopen and weaken decisions reached at Potsdam; (b) a threat to Russian collection of reparations in western Germany; (c) a move by America and Britain to restore German industry. Consequently, it has been suggested by Leland Stowe and others, Molotov was instructed not to permit the slightest breach in the Potsdam agreement at London. Authoritative statements that the experts' report is not official policy but merely a basis for discussion may have modified Russian fears. What seems needed now is a joint examination by the four occupying powers of the meaning of the unfortunately obscure economic clauses of the Potsdam agreement. From that they might go on to discuss how to provide Germany, not with an average standard of living, but with the bare means of subsistence. As things are going, even that may seem a rather remote ideal a few months hence.

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THE RESIGNATION OF PREMIER VOULGARIS OF Greece was inevitable, for he was no longer able to withstand the concerted opposition of republican and liberal groups. That opposition was based, first, upon the government's inability to solve the economic crisis which has been growing daily more acute since the resignation of Finance Minister Varvaressos some weeks ago; second, on its terroristic activities among the population as well as the scandalous use to which national services were being put. In a surprise move Voulgaris called elections for January 10. He offered no guaranties that the new electoral lists would be any more representative of the people than those previously announced. With faked registers and the general confusion which recent Greek political events have caused, the results of an early election could have been neither decisive nor indicative of the true national will. The republican parties announced their unanimous decision to boycott the polls. The government fell. Regent Damaskinos asked Themistocles Sophoulis, leader of the Liberal Party, to form a new government with the collaboration of the monarchists. Mr. Sophoulis failed because of the insistence of the monarchists upon the formation of another "service government," which would have offered no more democratic guaranties than did the Voulgaris regime. Now former Prime Minister Tsouderos has been asked to form a "government of personalities." Mr. Tsouderos is a man who has never been quite certain of his political convictions, swerving now toward republicanism and now toward the royalists. It is not likely that he will do better than his predecessors in handling a crisis which demands broad democratic reforms, both political and economic.

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IN ARGENTINA THE REAL ISSUE IS PEOPLE against army, and until that is settled any democratic gains will be short-lived. Of course the arrest of Colonel Perón and the ousting of his closest collaborators from the government were good news. Perón's character has two sides: the rather frivolous Argentine officer, gallant and boastful, an easy target for cartoonists, and the hard-boiled adventurer who in South America jumps so readily from insignificance to leadership. His leadership had weak spots, chief among them his failure to win any important section of the population. Quite different from Hitler, who in his best years had the backing both of industrialists and of a large part of the workers, Perón never succeeded in convincing the reputable trade unions, while at the same time he antagonized the conservatives, who would otherwise have supported him, by his collaboration with the Axis. Nevertheless, he is not a man who can be casually dismissed. He has been trained in the fascist school, and his drive for power showed unquestionable audacity. By their cry, "We want his head," the crowds in Buenos Aires showed that they knew who was the real enemy; a mere figurehead like Farrell does not provoke such reactions. So it is some satisfaction to know that Perón is a prisoner aboard a warship. But the triumvirate, Farrell-Avalos-Vernengo Lima, which at the moment seems to control the situation, offers no guaranty that the battle for freedom has been won. Avalos is one more Argentine general, interested in maintaining the influence of the army rather than in promoting democracy. Admiral Vernengo Lima is the best of the three if only because he represents the navy, which in Argentina has always been loyal to the constitution and is decidedly pro-Ally. But it is neither from the army nor the navy that a restoration of democratic rule can be expected. The distinguished civilians invited to join the Cabinet were right in making the condition that power should be turned over to the Supreme Court. In Argentina the main problem is to end the interference of the officers' cliques which since 1930 have been dominating the politics of the country from their stronghold in the Campo de Mayo.

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THE UNITED STATES HAS JUST WON A MAJOR war fought round the world. It performed what is often referred to as a miracle of production and delivery. It raised and put into action an army of millions. The country rose so brilliantly indeed to the call and needs of war as to set in motion the fear, among thoughtful people, that the triumphant military and nationalist point of view might constitute a threat to civil government and free institutions. To be sure, popular feeling against anyone who opposed this war was not kindly, and the papers now are full of pleas official and unofficial for bigger and better preparedness for "the next war": which means that the fear referred to above is not groundless, but which also makes it the more extraor-

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dinary that last week the nation's highest award, the Congressional Medal of Honor, was conferred on a conscientious objector. Private Desmond C. Doss, who refused to bear arms, was allowed to become a medical aide, and on various islands in the Pacific he performed such acts of self-abnegation and sheer courage that he became a legend in his outfit. His was an extraordinary case; other C. O.'s were stupidly and unfairly treated. But the fact that he should have received the country's highest honor is a small but happy sign that sanity, respect for the human being, and Sherman's definition of war have survived the intoxication of the greatest conflict in history.

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THE TAX BILL ADOPTED BY THE HOUSE HAS apparently been drawn with an eye to the 1946 elections rather than to the economic welfare of the country. By increasing the exemption on the normal tax the bill will free several million taxpayers, and voters, of the necessity of paying any income tax at all in 1946. This, of course, is a sound move in so far as those affected are in the low-income brackets. But the House went against the Treasury's recommendations in granting very substantial tax relief to those with incomes of $100,000 and up by voting a blanket 10 per cent reduction on all tax bills. While no large number of votes is likely to be influenced by this special gift, it is obvious that considerable political pressure must have been exerted from some quarter to bring about an upset of the Treasury's recommendations. A gift package is also handed out to industry in the form of a 4 per cent reduction in the corporation surtax rate and a cut in the excess-profits tax from the present net of 85½ per cent to 60 per cent. As a sop to the little man—the 1946 voter—a minor levy, the $5 use tax on automobiles, was eliminated. Any reduction in taxes at a time when the inflationary danger still persists must be explained in political rather than economic terms. But a program which leaves the burdensome excise taxes practically untouched while granting relief in the amount of $450,000 to the man in the $5,000,000 income bracket invites a repetition of the disaster which followed the Mellon tax cuts in the 1920's.

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THIS WEEK WE ANNOUNCE WITH PLEASURE A regular signed page by J. Alvarez del Vayo, who has so ably handled the Political War Section of *The Nation*. Both as journalist and political leader throughout his active life, Mr. del Vayo has had intimate experience of the course of European and world affairs. He represented Spain on the Council of the League of Nations, headed the League's Chaco Commission, served as his country's ambassador to Mexico, and as Foreign Minister during the Spanish struggle absorbed the full impact of the first major campaign of World War II. Under the title, The People's Front, our colleague will say what he pleases about men and affairs, writing from wherever events may take him. His first page will appear next week.

I. F. STONE HAS LEFT FOR PALESTINE

In the near future *The Nation* will publish his cabled dispatches on the critical Near Eastern situation.

How to Minimize Strikes

INDUSTRIAL unrest confronts the federal government with a dilemma: on the one hand, work stoppages—call them strikes or call them lockouts as you choose—tend to thwart vital domestic and even foreign policies of the nation; on the other hand settlement of industrial disputes by governmental decree must entail either methods of coercion intolerable to a democratic society or regulation of the economy to an extent incompatible with the free-enterprise system as it is commonly conceived. It can scarcely be doubted that reconversion will be retarded by the strikes now in progress and by those threatening to develop. Demobilization is made more difficult. Reemployment of veterans and war workers is impeded. In foreign affairs a pledge such as that made by Secretary Ickes for the shipment of American coal to prime the pump of European industry is rendered impossible of fulfilment; and the consequences in terms of instability and disorder abroad may be very grave indeed.

But what are the alternatives? Supporters of the Ball-Burton-Hatch bill would have us end labor disputes affecting the national interest through compulsory arbitration. One trouble with this is that wage disputes are not in any real sense arbitrable: there are simply no criteria in a free-enterprise system for determining what portion of a company's earnings should be paid out in wages and what portion in profits. An arbitrator can scarcely be other than arbitrary.

A second defect in this alternative is the plain fact that wage decisions unacceptable to workers cannot be enforced. We have seen enough of the rigmarole of plant seizure and subsequent defiance of the government to know that it settles nothing. Any attempt to mine coal with bayonets or produce automobiles with tommy guns would be an invitation to civil war. And not even the most reactionary of administrations democratically elected is likely to engage in such folly.

It proved feasible during the war, however, to settle most industrial disputes through conciliation or through what amounted to compulsory arbitration by the War Labor Board. This was because of labor's extraordinary adherence to its voluntarily tendered no-strike pledge and because WLB decisions were made in conformity with the Little Steel formula, which, whatever its demerits, at least afforded a clear national wage policy.

But today WLB is in dissolution and there is no longer any frame of reference for wage awards. The assertion of a definite wage-price policy by the government seems a prerequisite to any effective efforts toward the speedy settlement of labor disputes. In normal times—that is when production of consumer goods is relatively equal to demand—the wage-price relationship can be expected to adjust itself. But for the next six or nine months it is essential that the government lay down general principles to maintain economic stability.

Within the framework of such principles conciliation can be more effective and arbitration can be attempted. For effective conciliation we clearly need a greatly strengthened conciliation service in the Labor Department; this means among other things better salaries in order to attract conciliators of experience and high caliber. As to arbitration, the prescription offered by Senator McMahon seems a great

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deal more promising than that laid down by Messrs. Ball, Burton, and Hatch. An emergency Labor Board is better off without sanctions, which cannot in any case be made effectual. But, since compliance with its recommendations will depend in the last resort on the pressure of public opinion, it should be given power of subpoena so that it may ascertain the full facts in any dispute and insure publicity for them.

Admittedly this will merely minimize strikes and lockouts, not altogether prevent them. But occasional strikes are part of the price this society must pay for a free labor movement, and occasional lockouts are one of the penalties attached to a free-enterprise system. Competition and even conflict are inescapable expressions of the way in which America chooses to live.

Bargaining with Britain

WE CONGRATULATE the reporters who persuaded Assistant Secretary of State William L. Clayton to talk about the Anglo-American financial conference in Washington on the record instead of off it. Now at last we have something solid to supplement the leaks, hints, and rumors which have so far constituted the "news" about these vital negotiations. Let Mr. Clayton persevere in seeking publicity on this matter, braving the possibility of hostile reactions on Capitol Hill and elsewhere! We believe he understands what is needed to put Anglo-American economic relations on a sound basis, but if the present conference is to be crowned by success, a big job of public education will have to be done both here and in Britain. The atmosphere of secrecy that has prevailed for the past month plays into the hands of those who chant daily that Uncle Sam is about to have his pockets picked. In Britain lack of information is encouraging a kind of radical jingoism based on the fear that Britain is being asked to mortgage its political and economic liberties.

At the beginning of the conference Lord Keynes told the press that Britain was faced with two alternatives: it could attempt to emerge slowly from its current difficulties with as little outside help as possible, relying on autarchic mechanisms, such as exchange controls and barter assignments; or it could seek, with American aid, to restore international economic life on the liberal lines indicated by the Atlantic Charter. The second alternative, he made it plain, was the preference of the British government, but to make its adoption possible, American aid would have to be provided on conditions enabling Britain to carry on the trade on which its sheer existence depended.

In his statement on October 9 Mr. Clayton, in effect, indorsed this position. If, he said, the United States did not grant to Great Britain the help it needed to bridge its critical balance-of-payments problems of the next three years, it would be forced to adopt defensive measures which would divide the world into trade blocs of a highly competitive character. Nevertheless, he made it clear that financial aid must be part of a bargain offering "present and future benefits to the American people"; it was not proposed to justify it on sentimental grounds. Thus he indicated dismissal of the reported British plea for a grant of a "non-commercial loan," extended in recognition of Britain's greater material sacrifices and as compensation for the way in which it stripped itself of its external resources in order to hold the Axis at bay in 1940. Undoubtedly there are good moral arguments for this proposal, but it is wise to push it aside as politically unrealistic. Persuading Congress to approve even the hardest-headed business deal is going to be difficult enough.

What now appears to be jelling at the conference is a plan for a long-term open credit which will enable Britain to draw up to $5 billion. Interest and amortization, it is suggested, might be waived for the first three to five years, the period when the British shortage of dollars will be most acute. In return, it is indicated, Britain is being asked to make a composition with the holders of the British sterling debt, scaling down the total and freeing at least part for early conversion to dollars. This would give American business a chance to cash in on the urgent needs of countries like India for manufactured goods of all kinds. In addition, Britain will be expected to liquidate the sterling area and abandon the associated dollar pool as soon as possible, to undertake the gradual removal of exchange and import controls, and to modify, if not abolish, the Empire-preference system whereby the different members of the Empire charge each other lower duties and so discriminate against other countries.

It is to be noted that so far the discussion appears to have been concentrated on the smashing of those trade barriers favored by Britain. In their new-found enthusiasm for freedom of international commerce Americans tend to

> Compound for sins they are inclined to
> By damning those they have no mind to.

The United States is poorly placed to use those weapons of economic warfare whose renunciation by Britain it demands. A country with a favorable trade balance cannot often profit by barter deals, for they would normally involve scaling down exports or consenting to receive larger imports. Likewise, ownership of a large share of the world's gold and a strong ideological attachment to the gold standard rule out effective use by America of currency manipulation. But we have our own economic armaments, and the question arises whether we are prepared to give them up as readily as we are willing to crack down on those that are useless to us.

We cannot very well expect Britain to abandon the shelter which Empire preference affords to its manufacturers unless we in turn are ready to lower tariff rates which in many cases have the practical effect of an embargo. Under the Reciprocal Trade Agreements Act, passed last summer, the President now has power to make a move in this direction, but there has been no Washington whisper suggesting that lower American tariffs are to be part of the bargain with Britain. Another potent American trade weapon, which causes great damage to other countries, is the subsidy. For some years we have been subsidizing American shipping very handsomely, and a great deal of elaborate and expensive propaganda is now being put out to insure the continuation of this policy. Yet subsidized competition of this kind is a grave handicap to Britain and other countries which depend partly on shipping earnings to pay for imports. More recently we have begun to pay export subsidies to enable high-cost American farm products to compete abroad. This constitutes

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unfair competition to Canada and Australia, for instance; yet we urge that these countries forgo the advantages they now enjoy through Empire preference.

If the United States is sincere in promoting an international free-market policy, if it really hopes to reverse the universal trend to economic self-sufficiency, it must be prepared to set an example. We must grow up to ourselves as a world economic power and learn the facts of international economic life. The first of these is that one cannot have one's cake and eat it. If we want to sell we have got to buy; and if we want to sell and get our debts paid we must eventually buy more than we sell. Once these elementary principles have been grasped many of the difficulties of arranging a financial and economic agreement with Britain which would bring tremendous benefits to both parties will vanish.

The Marshall Report

BY CHARLES G. BOLTE

GENERAL MARSHALL'S report on the winning of the war in Europe and the Pacific is a magnificent and informative account of the last two years of war. For that reason it should be read by every American with pride and no little sense of awe. It is also a partisan plea for a national defense policy which seems on careful study peculiarly unsuited to provide any real measure of security in the atomic age. For that reason it should be read by every American with caution and great reserve.

General Marshall's historical survey of the actual fighting occupies about two-thirds of the book. Most of the next third is taken up with a summary of occupational policies, our weapons, and our troops. Finally there is a presentation of the Chief of Staff's views on the measures that should be taken for our common defense.

It is the historical section which is the most impressive. Throughout, it displays the clarity of mind, the grasp of essentials, the intellectual integrity, and the generosity of vision which have so distinguished General Marshall and assured his place in history as one of the very greatest American soldiers. The report begins with the flat statement that "this nation can take little credit for its part in staving off disaster" in the early years of the war, and adds: "It is certain that the refusal of the British and Russian peoples to accept what appeared to be inevitable defeat was the great factor in the salvage of our civilization." This same realistic appreciation of facts, no matter whose nationalistic sensibilities may be wounded, marks the greater part of the historical survey. Marshall never claims too much and toward the end of the book, when he reveals how completely our man-power was absorbed in warmaking, he says: "Even with two-thirds of the German army engaged in Russia, it took every man the nation saw fit to mobilize to do our part of the job in Europe and at the same time keep the Japanese enemy under control in the Pacific. What would have been the result had the Red Army been defeated and the British Isles invaded we can only guess. The possibility is rather terrifying."

His estimate of the mistakes made by our enemies is particularly interesting, and reveals time and again how close we were to defeat. It is apparent from the reports that our whole war was won by a series of calculated risks which paid off; one can feel only admiration for the planners who operated with such a narrow margin of safety.

Having told how we won the war, General Marshall explains how we shall win the next one. We cannot expect proposals for achieving peace to come from the Chief of Staff. His job is to be a pessimist: to assume the worst and to prepare against it. Marshall says that atomic energy can destroy man. To atomic energy he adds new developments in other fields—aircraft, rockets, and electronics. He quotes from a special report prepared by General Arnold which describes only the weapons already in existence, not their future possibilities; he adds, "The developments of the war have been so incredible that the wildest imagination will not project us far from the target in estimating the future."

Yet what is his answer? Universal military training, with a trained reserve of four million men, so that "we can move armies of men into the enemy's bases of operations and seize the sites from which he launches his attacks." He urges military preparedness, with which there can be no argument; but having already demonstrated that this nation could not have won the recent war without the intercession of its allies and the mistakes of its enemies, he urges that "this nation be prepared to defend its interest against any nation or combination of nations." Having said that only 20 per cent of our armed forces was in the infantry, he asks for a civilian reserve of four million. Having explained that the next war will be fought with rockets or long-range aircraft delivering atomic explosives, he proposes a civilian reserve which will take a year to muster fully and which is to be moved "into the enemy's bases of operation."

He goes so far as to impute "ulterior motives" to those who oppose universal military training. We submit that his own report is the strongest argument against the proposal. It can only be assumed that the proposal stems inevitably from the two psychological failures of most professional minds—the tendency to go into the future armed with the decisive factors of the past and the tendency to support measures by which one makes one's bread and butter. It cannot be assumed that a mind so embracing as General Marshall's is incapable of understanding implications of atomic energy; it must be assumed that that mind rejects the implications because the consequence of accepting them would be to undercut the ground on which the professional thinking of years has been based.

This is not an attack on the professional minds which have fashioned our victory and must fashion our future defense. It is simply another way of saying that war is too important to be left to the generals, of pleading that the scientists and the civil authorities be given control over our main defense policies. General Marshall himself provides the answer to our central problem when he says that the recent war was "only a prelude of what can be expected so long as there are nations on earth capable of waging total war." So long as there are nations with unbridled sovereignty ranged against one another, total war is possible. So long as total war is possible, the generals must devise means of defense. But the least we can ask is that they devise means which are appropriate to the atomic age, not to the gunpowder age.

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Rhapsody in Black and Blue

BY GATES WARD

(An employee of Metro-Goldwyn-Mayer now on strike)

Hollywood, October 11

A FOURTH of Hollywood's 30,000 motion-picture-studio employees have been locked out since March 12 in a dispute over a single issue—the right of employees to belong to unions of their own choice. For seven months the 7,500 men and women involved have peacefully picketed the nine major studios by day and local theaters by night, generally in groups of ten to a hundred. Save for a few clashes between individuals there has been no violence; the picket lines have been gay and good-humored, pretty girls in the white-collar unions marching with young men from the crafts.

On Monday, October 8, the situation had changed. At six o'clock in the morning nearly a thousand pickets formed a peaceful line at the Warner studio in suburban Burbank. At once two hundred goons engaged by I. A. T. S. E. (International Alliance of Theatrical Stage Employees), a notorious company-sponsored A. F. of L. organization, came toward them, swinging chains, clubs, and other weapons. Behind the goons came about four hundred non-strikers, mainly scabs from rump-chartered I. A. T. S. E. unions. The unarmed pickets fell bleeding in the street, but the line held until two hundred suburban police and deputy sheriffs rushed out from the studio and used their clubs recklessly. Then the line parted, letting in the strike-breakers and a few dozen employees from uninvolved unions. Hundreds of other workers, including many I. A. T. S. E. members, refused to cross the picket line. From the safety of a sound-stage roof, studio executives watched the bloody battle and by loud speakers invited reluctant workers to come inside.

The violence had begun at Warner's the previous Friday, when strike-breakers vainly tried to run down the pickets in automobiles, and company cops, aided by the Los Angeles and suburban police, sought to break up the line with fire hoses and with tear-gas bombs thrown from the studio roofs. About seventy pickets were injured—a dozen seriously—in the two days of rioting instigated by the studio, I. A. T. S. E., and the law-enforcement agencies. The strike leaders—but no studio chiefs—were arrested, charged with inciting to riot. A number of pickets were arrested for carrying concealed weapons, which they had picked up or seized from goons, but so far as is known no thugs were arrested. However, their weapons were unconcealed.

At the height of Monday's battle four police officers walked off the job in disgust when they saw what they had been sent to do, and joined the pickets. When it was announced on Monday night that Warner's, supported by other major studios, would meet the pickets in a showdown battle on Tuesday, such a wave of protest swept the community that hundreds of respectable citizens—doctors, lawyers, business men, housewives, even some I. A. T. S. E. members—rushed to join the picket line at dawn. Nothing happened. Warner's apparently had had enough. Not an employee crossed the picket line.

On Tuesday the producers visited Sheriff Biscailuz. The strikers' original plan was to move the mass picket line to each studio in turn, but when Warner's reacted violently to its first appearance, they decided to keep it there until the violence subsided. On Wednesday morning as about four hundred pickets, a third of them women, almost all of them locked-out employees from Warner's and other studios, were circling peacefully before Warner's main gate, two hundred deputy sheriffs advanced on them carrying tear-gas bombs and machine-guns. They forced the pickets to put up their hands and then marched them into the studio, where they held them for several hours, refusing to let them see lawyers and even denying them toilet facilities. Finally all the pickets were taken to the Burbank jail and held on $500 bail each, on the charge of illegal assembly and rioting. Many, including a number of women, refused to accept freedom on bail. I saw all this and can state that there was no violence of any kind by the pickets. On Thursday ten thousand A. F. of L. Lockheed workers joined the picket line, twenty-five hundred at 6 a. m. and the others in later shifts.

These mass demonstrations by the strikers were the result of the long run-around they had been given by the producers and of the Washington NLRB's mysterious delay in rendering a decision in the dispute.

Hollywood is completely organized now, from office workers to directors; in some thirty-four A. F. of L. and ten independent unions. And of course there is the Association of Motion Picture Producers. Engaged in the present strike are fourteen A. F. of L. locals and an independent extras' union. Nine are craft locals—the painters, molders, carpenters, machinists, electricians, janitors, blacksmiths, plumbers, sheet-metal workers; and five are white-collar and technical workers' unions—the cartoonists, office employees, publicists, story analysts, and the key union of the strike, Local 1421, of set designers, decorators, and illustrators. The producer-backed I. A. T. S. E. has twelve regular locals, among which are the progressive, sympathetic camera men, film technicians, sound men, and costumers. Controlled by dictatorial top leaders, they have been unable to avoid their misuse in the present conflict.

Equity has taken no stand in the strike, but it would have been won over long ago if the Screen Actors' Guild, which escaped I. A. T. S. E. seizure only after a bitter fight a few years ago, would support it. Despite a substantial progressive element, the guild is under reactionary leaders and as a union has taken a neutral, hands-off stand. Its president is George Murphy, a conservative Republican, and its treasurer is Russell Hicks, who knocked a girl picket down with a blow to the nose in Monday's battle. The equally powerful Writers' Guild, unaffiliated but progressive, vigorously supports the

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strikers but has been prevented from joining them by its peculiar contractual relations with the producers. Even so, the producers have been severely handicapped; insufficient and incompetent replacements have caused serious delays and the cancelation of many scheduled productions, at a cost of millions of dollars. Some five hundred I. A. T. S. E. scabs are sleeping in the Warner studio. But no pictures are being made because the rebellious I. A. T. S. E. camera men refuse to cross the picket line. The picketing of local theaters has brought a 25 per cent drop in box-office receipts, and theater owners are privately begging the producers to settle the strike. Most of the independent producers privately or openly favor the strikers and have long been trying to persuade the major producers to settle.

The present strike is the climax of the all-out, ten-year-old effort of certain producers, a powerful minority in the A. M. P. P., to put all studio labor under the control of a company-dominated labor organization that was set up in Hollywood by two racketeers with the producers' help. In 1934 two Chicagoans with police records, George Browne and Willie Bioff, took over the International Alliance of Theatrical Stage Employees and with it control of the projectionists in picture theaters. In 1935 Bioff came to Hollywood and told the producers—so it was asserted in court—that he and Browne would close up the theaters unless they were paid off.

Not only did the producers start paying off, but in January, 1936, through the Hays Office, they gave to these crooks and their union a closed shop in the studios. At that time I. A. T. S. E. had only seventy-six members in Hollywood, but the producers ordered all their organized employees to join it or risk losing their jobs, and the membership rose to 12,000 in less than two years. Here was an obvious answer to the Wagner act and the rise of labor in the mid-thirties—an industry-wide organization controlled by the producers, who found it more convenient to make deals with dictatorial and crooked labor chiefs than to bargain with free unions.

Several studio locals resisted the producers' effort to herd them into I. A. T. S. E. until the pay-off scandal exploded and Bioff and Browne, together with an important producer, were sent to prison in 1941. A dozen or more free unions then seized the opportunity to form a progressive group called the Conference of Studio Unions (C. S. U.) with the purpose of protecting and promoting free unionism. This group made rapid progress in improving wage and working conditions, and in consequence a revolt broke out in the ranks of the twelve I. A. T. S. E. locals. It was smashed, however, by Richard Walsh, a vice-president of I. A. T. S. E. during the Browne-Bioff regime.

A truce reigned until October, 1943, when a small independent union of seventy-seven set decorators voted to join Local 1421, one of the C. S. U. unions, and to designate it as their bargaining agent. For almost a year the producers avoided official recognition of Local 1421 as the decorators' agent while actually treating it as such. Then the trap was sprung. In August, 1944, the producers suggested that, "merely as a formality," Local 1421 should be certified by the NLRB as the decorators' representative. Although this action was unnecessary, since the decorators had the right to join any union they chose, the local complied. Two weeks later, on the instigation of the producers, a I. A. T. S. E. local filed a cross-petition claiming exclusive jurisdiction over the decorators—although not a single decorator, as such, had ever been a member of an I. A. T. S. E. local. Of course, the NLRB could not hold an election to decide the claims of two rival A. F. of L. unions except upon the employers' petition. Instead of petitioning, the producers suddenly announced that they were "caught in the middle of a foolish quarrel between brother A. F. of L. unions."

Local 1421 withdrew its petition in disgust, for jurisdiction was not an issue, and gave the producers proof that it represented 100 per cent of the decorators by their own free choice. The producers flatly refused to recognize the local or to negotiate with it as the decorators' agent. In December the local filed a strike notice in accordance with the Smith-Connally act; in January, 1945, the producers having made no move to heal the breach, it voted overwhelmingly to strike. Now the WLB intervened, and in February its arbitrator awarded the decorators to Local 1421, pending final decision by the NLRB. The producers refused to obey the WLB order and filed a petition, at last, with the NLRB to resolve the "jurisdictional dispute." In March Local 1421 went out on strike.

The producers' plot was transparent. The war was still on, and the no-strike pledge was sacred. The producers thought they had the local over a barrel. If it was faithful to the no-strike pledge and refrained from striking, after having voted to strike, its integrity and strength as a union might be fatally compromised. If it struck—which was apparently what the producers wanted it to do—and was joined by other unions in the hated C. S. U., the producers hoped to see them all discredited through their violation of the no-strike pledge.

When the unions defied the producers' ultimatum to return to work by April 4, contracts were canceled and members fired. Richard Walsh ordered his men to take over the strikers' work, but they refused. When the producers announced that thousands of jobs were open to all comers, he issued rump charters wholesale for strike-breakers, declaring it was his duty to "keep out communism and keep the studios running in war time." Oddly, the heads of the A. F. of L. international failed to support the strike until the regional NLRB decided in June that it was legal and justified.

In August the C. I. O. came to the support of the strikers, "to help defeat company unionism, labor's menace in the post-war era," and began to help picket theaters in various large cities.

Although an NLRB election was held in May, the Washington board did not resolve the "jurisdictional" issue until Tuesday, October 9. It then decided in favor of the strikers. According to reliable reports the producers will defy the decision on the pretext that if they accept it, I. A. T. S. E. will strike. In any case, the strike may be hard to settle, for the local and its allied unions insist not only on recognition by the producers but also that machinery be set up to prevent and settle jurisdictional disputes and that all union contracts and jobs be restored as of the date the strike began. The situation is tense; the strike may last a long time.

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What Happened in Bavaria

BY SAUL K. PADOVER

(Historian and political scientist; during the war a member of the army's Psychological Warfare Division)

MG intrusted the government of Bavaria to the ultra-reactionary Bayerische Volkspartei, a clerical party which had close ties with Nazis and militarists. Whether MG was aware of it or not, it is a historical fact that the B. V. P. was a compromised party. In 1933 it had voted for the *Ermächtigungs Gesetz,* the law which gave Hitler dictatorial powers. This may be one explanation why, under the American occupation, the B. V. P. was so acceptable to the Bavarian Nazis, militarists, Junkers, and monopolists, who flocked to its banner for protection.

In embracing the Nazis and other objectionable elements the B. V. P. leaders said that they were acting on the motto *Liebet euere Feinde* (Love your enemies). Since the B. V. P. had done nothing against the Hitlerite terror, had not raised its voice against mass slaughter and mass enslavement, there was grim irony in its sudden tenderness for the Nazis.

For MG to expect the B. V. P. leaders to take action against their political friends and business associates was, to speak mildly, the height of naivete. Bürgermeister Stadelmayr, the real ruler of Munich, is an example of clericalist-Nazi cooperation. An employee in a printing plant that worked for the city, he not only had friends and acquaintances among the Nazi politicians but was himself a member of the party. To Nazi colleagues he showed massive favors. As soon as MG made him mayor, he appointed Dr. Jobst, his Nazi predecessor's adjutant, as his own assistant. Since Jobst was not a simple Nazi but was known as a high national official in the party (*Politischer Leiter* in the *Reichsleitung*), anti-fascist citizens of Munich complained immediately. After three weeks in office Jobst was removed, but not by Stadelmayr, who protested that the man was "indispensable." The same thing happened when the Bürgermeister gave a job to Dr. Meister, an intimate of former President Weber, the leader of Munich's Nazis and a personal friend of Hitler. Meister, too, was "indispensable." On his personal staff Stadelmayr retained a number of loyal Nazis, among them Obergerichtsrat Dr. Vetter, Stadtdirektor Dr. Neff, and two secretaries, Frau Krafft and Fräulein Lieglein. The secretaries had access to all the confidential business in the mayor's office. When an official of the Free Germany Committee protested to Oberbürgermeister Scharnagl against Bürgermeister Stadelmayr's pro-Nazi policy, he was given a reply that had at least the merit of candor. "I," said Scharnagl, "do not participate in the fight against fascism. That I leave to the Americans."

The B. V. P. had, indeed, no objections to Nazi-fascism, and its municipal and provincial Bavarian administrations were filled with Hitlerites. According to one estimate, from 50 to 80 per cent of all city employees in Munich were party members. Once a Nazi was in office, it proved to be as difficult to dislodge him as it had been in Aachen. A number of known Nazis were dismissed after pressure had been exerted, but it will take an upheaval to clean them all out. Dr. Lange, the Minister of Economics in the provincial government, would recommend only high Nazis to important positions. Some of his candidates were arrested later by the American authorities, but for a long time he retained Dr. Graf, a prominent Nazi official (*Leiter des Reichswirtschaftsamtes Nord Bayern*), as his personal assistant.

Nazis also permeated the lower levels of the bureaucracy, where they were well placed to perpetuate Nazi methods and ideas. The whole police force of the suburb of Freising, for example, was Nazi. The head of the provincial Food and Agriculture Board, Rattenhuber, admitted that 90 per cent of his employees and coworkers were party members. He could not fire them, he said, because he did not see where the government would get the money to pay their pensions. Under this man the black market flourished openly. On the Sendlingertor Platz in Munich anyone could buy a loaf of bread for 24 marks, as against 24 pfennigs in the rationed shops, and a kilogram of meat for 200 marks ($20 at the official rate of exchange).

Perhaps the most influential among the non-policy-making employees were the interpreters. Since MG officers had no command of the German language, they had to rely upon their interpreters. Anti-fascist Germans who knew English reported that all the interpreters were unreliable and twisted meanings in their translations. One of them, Fräulein Schlagmann, had been a leader of a Nazi *Frauenschaft* and was a known anti-Semite. In this connection it is worth a passing mention that the secretary to an important American military organization in Bad Wiessee was the daughter of Dr. Frank, the former governor of Poland, now one of the top war criminals. Catholic and Jewish Poles who survived Dr. Frank's administration may be interested to know that Fräulein Frank was permitted to retain her home, in which was stored the loot her father had brought back from Poland.

In the vital matter of living quarters the B. V. P. policy of coddling the Nazis and the MG policy of not molesting them too much—unless they were pre-1933 members, and even then there were loopholes—was glaringly evident. The severe struggle for living accommodations was never resolved in favor of anti-Nazis. The greatest sufferers were the KZ's, Germans released from concentration camps. To their dismay they saw Nazis occupying their homes unmolested while they themselves were unable to find quarters. They were systematically cold-shouldered by the municipal administration. I quote two letters from KZ's:

Eugen Allmaier wrote to the Munich Red Cross:

> Since June 6, 1945, I have been trying to obtain an apartment from the municipal Housing Office, to which I have reported almost daily. . . . I am living with my wife and child in a small room in the apartment of my parents. . . .

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Since the beginning of May the pictures of Hitler have disappeared from the walls of the Housing Office, the Hitler salute is not used any longer, and the employees have removed the party badges from their lapels, but otherwise not much has changed. . . . If one does not have a special recommendation, one is sent away with the routine answer that nothing is to be had. I realize the extreme shortage of houses, but it is a well-known fact that many Nazi officials and party members are still occupying very large apartments. . . . Thus while I have to crowd my family into a tiny room, a childless party member and former deputy *Ortsgruppenleiter* continues to live in his three-and-a-half-room apartment across the street. . . .

I know there are many people as urgently in need of apartments as I am, and with equal right. But I have the impression that at the Housing Office things are not as they should be. Many people to whom I have spoken share my impression.

Another KZ, Karl Feuerer, wrote:

Four weeks ago, upon my return from the concentration camp where I had spent twelve years in lice-infested barracks, I requested an authorization from the Munich Housing Office to move into the apartment of former Nazi City Councilor Beck, who had fled the city. The request was rejected on the excuse that the apartment was not listed in the books. . . . Today I had occasion to see the authorization turning this apartment over to bombed-out Albert Debrau. . . . I encountered a similar experience in applying for the apartment of S. S. Sturmbannführer Major Frühwald, who had also fled. . . . I was told to return in two days. When I did return, they told me that the apartment was not listed in the books. However, on the day before, supposedly at the order of Bürgermeister Stadelmayr, the apartment had been given to a non-KZ man. Other cases like this have occurred and can be reported. There is no doubt that the Nazi trash still sit in the Housing Office and that the city government is not able to clean them out. If AMG will do nothing about this situation, the people will have to take action themselves.

The KZ's were not only without quarters but also without money, jobs, or clothes. B. V. P. politicians showed their generosity by raising charity collections. It is an ironic commentary on the whole situation that in a number of Bavarian towns—Mossach, Perlach, and Waldperlach—the money and food raised for the KZ's were *spurlos versenkt;* the donations simply vanished, probably into the maw of the ubiquitous black market. In Munich the authorities put up posters appealing to the wealthy Nazis to contribute old clothes to Hitler's victims. I do not know whether anybody's heart was touched, or who got the rags. I do know that the KZ's, treated like beggers, did not feel that under the American MG Bavaria was a particularly happy place for genuine anti-Nazis. I cannot refrain from quoting one more letter. It was written by a former inmate of Dachau, Dr. Karl Rüdrich, to the editor of the *Münchener Zeitung.*

After describing how well the American combat troops treated him and his comrades upon their liberation from Dachau, Dr. Rüdrich tells what happened when they reached Munich:

The disappointment was great. We did not expect any special reception. We ex-KZ's are simple and modest. But we did expect adequate living quarters, food, and an elimination of red tape. We were weary. All of us were ailing. But everyone of us had to go through all the red tape to receive our forty marks and our ration points. My comrades were running around all day attempting to buy food or to obtain at least one shirt. Finally we were given billets at the Stielerschule. Liberated KZ's were in charge. They did what they could, but their facilities were limited. The city government had made no preparations. There were no washrooms or sinks. We had no towels, no mess-kits, no blankets. That was our convalescent home in Munich. It was not what we had fought for.

Some of the city employees were helpful, others were uncooperative. The Nazi spirit has not disappeared. We cannot do anything. We are always told that the directives come from higher quarters—from the Americans. I found out that the Americans have shown real understanding when reasonable suggestions are made to them. They act like gentlemen, but they say we have to help ourselves, that we must learn to administer our own country. I remember my dead comrades. They died as martyrs for freedom. What is Munich doing for their survivors?

During the first weeks of their liberation KZ's, together with other anti-Nazis, drew up lists and descriptions of prominent Hitlerites and in the naive hope that action would be taken submitted them to the authorities, both American and German. Nothing much happened; occasionally some big Nazi would be arrested and then released. The true anti-Nazis did not know where to turn. These politically alert people, Germany's sole democratic potential, were given no encouragement and no assistance. It was difficult for them to retain any illusions when they saw Hitler's collaborators roam the city unmolested. Among the latter one may mention Karl Oberhuber, S. A. brigade leader, adjutant to the notorious Gauleiter Wagner, wearer of the coveted Nazi Golden Party badge; Colonel von Herrmann of the *Volkssturm,* an old party member who shouted, "Whoever refuses to join the *Volkssturm* will be hanged"; Herr Berchtold, member of the Reichstag and one of the original Nazis, with a party book number lower than that of Hitler himself (4 or 6); Professor Richard Klein, a friend of Hitler and member of his staff, designer of the Nazi insignia; Professor Pistor, rector of the Technische Hochschule, who was responsible for the complete Nazification of that institution. These men continued their tranquil existence after the Führer's downfall.

Anti-Nazi Bavarians were further dismayed when they saw high police posts in the hands of the sworn enemies of the German people—militarists and former officers of the German General Staff. The police president of Munich was not the Social Democratic candidate, Freiherr von Godin, who had given the command to fire on the Hitler rebels in 1923, but Colonel von Seisser, a General Staff officer who had collaborated with Hitler and signed the proclamation in 1923 declaring an end to the "criminal" German Republic. That proclamation, which acquired such terrible significance later, read: "Proclamation to the German People! The government of the November criminals today is declared dismissed. A provisional German National Government has been set up. It consists of General Ludendorff, Adolf Hitler, General von Lossow, Colonel von Seisser." Colonel von Seisser's colleagues in the police were other former General

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Staff officers—General Pirner, General Ranner, Colonel Kimpfmüller, and Colonel Lorneck. It is incredible that MG should have tolerated such men even for an hour.

Anti-Nazis shrugged their shoulders in helpless rage. As in Aachen, they repeated the bitter jest, "Too bad you're not a Nazi; if you were, you'd get ahead." After months of American occupation they saw that the swastikas and Nazi street names were not obliterated. Of course, they themselves should have taken the initiative in removing street signs commemorating Nazi heroes—Horst Wessel Platz, Schlageter Platz, Hans Schemm Strasse—but Germans, even anti-fascist Germans, are not made that way.

The democratic elements in Munich believed that MG cooperated with the B. V. P. and tolerated Nazi and militarists out of fear of bolshevism. German Communists employed in the administration kept their party affiliation a secret and were in constant fear of being denounced by Nazis; in at least one instance a Communist was thrown out and his Nazi denouncer, a party member since 1933, retained. "I know these anti-fascists," an MG major shouted at another American officer who proposed a Communist as a reliable person; "they are all bandits."

Until General Eisenhower kicked out the whole Bavarian administration, Bavarian anti-Nazis had no reason to believe that Americans were not hypocrites when they talked about "democracy." Some of their comments illustrate the extent of their disillusionment: "The Americans speak nicely of democracy on the radio, but actually they have no intention of reeducating for democracy or of establishing political democracy"; "The workers are saying, 'The Americans have come, but the swindle is just the same. The Nazis are still here and push us around as much as ever.'"

Since he acted as he did, General Eisenhower must have had full information about the situation, of which I have only related a few details. His liquidation of the B. V. P. government was the only step that was possible and proper under the circumstances, but I am skeptical about its lasting effectiveness. In the first place, it is a tragic fact that the democratic groups in Germany are not large enough or strong enough or experienced enough to carry through the necessary purges and to undertake a fundamental program of reconstruction. They will need help, and I do not see where they will get it. In the second place, MG, as constituted at present, will not be found useful. It is one thing for a sincere anti-Nazi like General Eisenhower to issue orders in Berlin; it is another thing to make his subordinates in the municipalities carry them out effectively. I am afraid that Wilhelm Högner, the Social Democratic Minister President of Bavaria, will have hard going.

[*This is the fourth of a series of articles on Military Government in Germany. In a final article Mr. Padover will discuss the only alternative for MG.*]

Have the Arabs a Case?

BY ELIAHU BEN-HORIN

(For sixteen years a newspaper editor in Palestine; author of "The Middle East, Crossroads of History")

FROM the headquarters of the Arab League in Cairo resolutions, protests, proclamations, and demands are issuing in an almost endless stream. The League is pugnacious, the League is indignant, the League is eloquent; it has something to say about every problem of the Middle East, whether it be Palestine and the Jews, Lebanon and the French, or Tripolitania and the Russians. From farther east, like a distant and invariable echo, sounds the seconding voice of King Ibn Saud, who does not hesitate to threaten the Jews of Palestine, and if need be the entire Western world, with violence should the Palestinian issue be resolved in favor of the Jewish people.

From the new Labor Cabinet in London comes still another echo—the voice of British statesmen and of the British press citing Arab opposition to a Jewish Palestine as the one insurmountable obstacle preventing them from doing the right thing by the Jews. This "Arab argument" has been so thoroughly propagated that even President Truman, speaking of Palestine, finds it necessary to say that he would be unwilling to dispatch an army of 500,000 Americans to the Near East to fight the Arab revolt which might break out if the pledges to the Jewish people are fulfilled.

The idea of a herculean pan-Arabic force in the Middle East ready to rise in a *jihad* is about the most ludicrous politico-military chimera heard of in many years. Two battalions of British troops suppressed the pro-Axis military putsch of the Rashid Ali Bag Gailani government in Iraq in 1941, though it had the backing of the then all-powerful Axis. The ill-armed and ill-trained armies of Egypt and Iraq, the camel riders of Saudi Arabia, and the horsemen of Transjordania, picturesque as they are, would be an ineffective force in these days of mechanized warfare.

Before we drift too far in this misrepresentation of the military strength and unity of purpose of the Arab peoples, it seems pertinent to look closely at Middle Eastern realities and to discover precisely what call these Arab chieftains have on the democracies. Indeed, do the Arabs have a case, and what is it?

As long as the war continued, we knew clearly who was with us and who against us, who fought for civilization and who staked their future on Hitler's victory. Where the Arabs stood was no secret. When the Nazi Wehrmacht rolled across Europe, Arab soldiers in German uniforms with the inscription "Free Arabia" on their sleeves were among the conquering heroes of the Third Reich. Remnants of this Arab Legion now cool their heels in Camp Opelika, Alabama. Special Moslem divisions of the Waffen-S. S. fought the Yugoslav partisans. A red fez decorated with the insignia of

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a scimitar grasped in a fist flanked by swastikas was worn with their gray-green uniforms.

Amin el Husseini, the ex-Mufti of Jerusalem, and other Arab leaders appealed in the name of Allah to the Arab Middle East to join hands with Hitler, who was described by them as "the direct descendant of the Prophet." If the risk was too great for an overt alliance they prayed for an Axis victory. Paeans of thanksgiving rose from the mosques of Syria and Palestine when Rommel took North Africa. Not only was there a pro-Axis revolt in Iraq, but Egypt refused to lift a finger in its own defense, even when Rommel's legions invaded Egyptian territory. An Egyptian statesman carrying the plans of the British High Command in his pocket was seized by the British on the very eve of his escape to Rommel's headquarters. Ibn Saud and King Yahya of Yemen sat comfortably on the fence all through the war, waiting to see which way to jump. In Syria and Lebanon the Arabs were so delighted by Axis victories that they chanted happily, "No more mister, no more monsieur, only Allah in heaven, only Hitler on earth."

Faisal Ibn Abdul Aziz
Viceroy of the Hejaz and Foreign Minister of Saudi Arabia

If all this is forgotten, the Arabs are still providing us with abundant evidence of their political and moral orientation. There was no need to prompt the French, the Norwegians, the Italians, the Yugoslavs to bring their traitors to trial and punishment. But the Arabs are not only unwilling to try the pro-Axis collaborationists in their midst; they are actually demanding that Amin el Husseini himself, who is now held in France as a war criminal—on the demand of the Yugoslav government—be absolved of all blame and released. These demands by the Arab League and other Arab political associations are understandable. In their eyes the Mufti is simply not a traitor. Pétain, Laval, Quisling, Degrelle, Joyce may be branded traitors by their own people, but according to the political and moral standards of Pan-Arabia, Amin el Husseini, once Hitler's official adviser on Arab affairs, is a national hero, whose only mistake was that he backed the losing horse.

Arab social philosophy and the existing forms of Arab society are in harmony with the Nazi-Fascist system rather than with our democratic ideas. For hundreds of years Arabia withstood the civilizing influence of the West. Even when Ataturk performed his miracle of a revolution in Turkey, westernizing that backward land of Islam, his modern ideas never penetrated into the Arab domains. There the reactionary clergy, the polygamist effendi, and the feudal kings, emirs, and sheiks continued to rule supreme over an impoverished, illiterate, and disease-ridden populace.

The fabulous oil riches of the Middle East attracted Western capital. Hundreds of millions of dollars were invested in the development of oil fields, in the construction of refineries and pipe lines, and in royalties to the various Arab governments. Did this flow of capital into Arabia benefit the masses of the people—raise living standards or improve social conditions?

Iraq provides the answer. Unlike the concessions in Saudi Arabia and Kuwait, which are still in their infancy, the Iraq concession, granted twenty years ago to British-American-French-Dutch interests, has been in operation for many years. About $85,000,000 was paid to the Iraqi government in oil royalties, gratuities, educational grants, and non-interest-bearing loans. This may not impress Americans as a large sum, but for a country of Iraq's size and population (3,500,000 inhabitants), and of Iraq's poverty, it is tremendous. Where did this money go? It disappeared into the pockets of the ruling clique, leaving no beneficial effects on either state expenditure or the living conditions of the masses. Here is how an Arab newspaper in Bagdad, the *Saut-el-ahali* (the *Voice of the People*), described life in Iraq in 1944:

> It is clear that 90 per cent of the entire population of Iraq live on a subhuman level. They are condemned to a life of starvation and exposed to the ravages of epidemics without benefit of any medical assistance. And these intolerable, primitive conditions exist in the twentieth century among our own Iraqi people, who sweat and toil to make the soil yield riches which are then entirely consumed by others. . . . The government has done nothing either to mitigate the distress or to combat its causes.

Elaborating the subject, the paper divided the population of Iraq into four groups: (1) 2 per cent of the population, who control the entire wealth of the nation and its means of production; (2) 8 per cent, who form a poor middle class and hardly earn a living; (3) 75 per cent, who are chronically undernourished, live in appalling conditions, and are easy prey to every kind of sickness; (4) 15 per cent, who are completely destitute. The death rate in Iraq is high and the birth rate is low, resulting in a natural increase of no more than five per thousand. At least two million persons —more than 50 per cent of the population—are infected with malaria, and there is a high incidence of tuberculosis. Ninety per cent of the people are still illiterate.

The Iraqi government could have achieved much for its people at home, but instead it fought the Jews in Palestine and the French in Syria, promoted Pan-Arabism in Cairo, and made grandstand plays in San Francisco and Washington. And Iraq is not unique: its description applies to every Arab land in the Middle East. The last remnants of a feudal society in the world fight bitterly against any democratic or civilizing innovation. Yet in our desire to woo the Arab kings we have showered on them every kind of favor, political and material. They were admitted on the bandwagon of the United Nations when the war was virtually over. Lend-lease was supplied to them, together with military missions to train their desert armies in modern warfare. Today pan-Arabic aspirations are bolstered by both the British and the American government. President Truman even went so far—on whose advice, one wonders—as to present Prince Abdul Ilah, the Regent of Iraq, with the medal of the Legion of Merit for his services during the war.

History sadly repeats itself. After the last war it was principally Great Britain which encouraged the pan-Arabic

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aspirations of King Hussein of Hejaz. Not that Britain believed in the possibility of any comprehensive unity in Arabia; on the contrary, every British expert on Arab affairs said that unity in Arabia was a phantom. Lawrence of Arabia wrote, "When people talk of Arab confederations or empires, they talk fantastically." Gertrude Bell denied the very existence of an Arab nation. As recently as September 26, 1945, a special correspondent of the London *Times* in the Middle East reported: "The difference in political, religious, and economic structure between, say, the Lebanon and Saudi Arabia is much more pronounced than between, say, Germany and France. Tribal, religious, and dynastic antagonisms are more embittered and fanatical in the Oriental than in the European world, and so far the Arab League has been more occupied with traditional eloquence than with the elaboration of constructive programs." And, "Just now the main, if not the only unifying force in the League is an ingrained and traditional xenophobia, directed, according to circumstances, against the French, the British, or the Jews."

The British encouraged King Hussein in his dreams of grandeur because they wanted above all to assure their complete domination over the Middle East, so vitally important to the maintenance of the Empire. Since then, dynastic changes have occurred in the Arab domains. King Hussein lost his kingdom to Ibn Saud and died in exile, a broken and disillusioned man. New chieftains have risen to power. But no social or economic changes of consequence have taken place. Indeed, the Arab-Jewish conflict is no less social than nationalistic in its nature. Numerous signs of an Arab-Jewish rapprochement were noted in the past. This, however, is what the reactionary effendis fear most, for they are bent on preserving their vested interests. The Mufti's clique killed numerous Arabs whose only sin was that they regarded sympathetically the social-economic progress brought to Palestine by Jewish-Zionist enterprise. Arabia remains as closed as ever to the march of civilization.

All this makes it clear that the Arabs have no case. Neither their attitude during the war nor the form of society they represent can possibly appeal to Labor Britain or democratic America. Yet the improbable and illogical seems to be happening. The rulers of both Britain and the United States seem to be so determined on a pro-Arab orientation in the Middle East that they would rather bear the odium of betraying the Jewish people and of backing reactionary Moslem potentates at this decisive stage in shaping the future world than risk the displeasure of the Arab cliques. What is behind it all?

The usual answer is oil. By now everyone is aware of its unparalleled abundance in the Middle East. But if oil is an important factor in the "Arab case," there is much more to it than that. The Jewish-Arab controversy in Palestine cuts across the most vital issues of world strategy. The major political, economic, and strategic plans of the British-American alliance on the one hand and of Soviet Russia on the other are part and parcel of it. Once again the Middle East, which has figured so prominently in every world conflagration, becomes the bone of contention in the great powers' jockeying for positions and influence.

Canada's Veterans Go Back to School

BY LESLIE ROBERTS

(Canadian journalist; author of "Canada's War in the Air" and "We Must Be Free"; coauthor with George F. Beurling of "Malta Spitfire")

Montreal, October 10

THE Canadian veterans' program and the G. I. Bill of Rights are based on fundamentally different social concepts. The American plan offers short-term assistance to the individual in getting back to normalcy; the Canadian is conceived as a long-term investment in the individual as a national asset. While it offers financial help and expert advice to the veteran who wants to buy a farm or establish a business, the backbone of the Canadian program is education. The official veterans' handbook says:

> The leaders of Canada in the future must come in large measure from those young Canadians who volunteered for active service in this war. This is a principle which the Dominion has recognized in setting up its plans, . . . with the result that full opportunity to resume education is given to the young ex-service man or woman whose ambition to go to university was interrupted by the war. . . .
>
> All qualified for university admission at time of enlistment, or who can qualify within fifteen months after discharge, may receive this opportunity.

Technically the opportunity consists of the right to go to school and college for a period of time equal to the individual's length of service, the government paying all tuition and making monthly maintenance grants of $60 to single and $80 to married students, plus extra money if there are children. Actually the government will extend the period of training for the brilliant student whose service time is not sufficient to enable him to complete his studies. "The government is of the opinion," says the handbook, "that the opportunity to go through to a degree should be available to the outstanding student."

The service men, for their part, are taking full advantage of the opportunity. More than 300,000 out of a total enlistment of approximately 750,000—as compared with 100,000 out of 600,000 after World War I—are eligible for university training. Today, with the bulk of the army still in Europe, every campus between the oceans is alive with young veterans. Toronto University is reported to have taken over a former war plant and cleared out the machinery to make room for desks. Similar preparations are being made at Montreal. In its first check-up Ottawa estimated it had received 40,000 applications. To date, according to Colonel Wilfrid Bovey, chairman of the Royal Commission on Veterans' Qualifications, 90,000 young men and women have

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signified their desire to go to college. The problem is where to put them all and at the same time find room for the usual crop from the high schools. Some universities are trying to meet the problem by raising their entrance requirements for civilians.

Stanley Frank, in the *Saturday Evening Post* of August 18, reported that most American soldiers are not interested in going to school: they want jobs, he said. On the other hand, Canadian veterans' advisers report that many men who come to them decline immediate employment opportunities in favor of more education. Why should their attitude be so different?

Tens of thousands of young Canadians went to the armed forces directly from high school or early in their university careers; tens of thousands more enlisted from extremely junior positions in the business world. Among both groups the realization that they are not equipped for any but low-paid jobs is discernible. But the same is true of the younger men in the American army. The difference in attitude is due to the difference between the government plans.

While there is no great difference in maintenance grants, Canada's being only slighter higher, the Canadian scheme covers all educational expenses; the G. I. Bill of Rights allows only $500 a year for tuition and textbooks. The G. I.'s time in school can in no case be longer than his period of service; the Canadian—whose service on the average is likely to be longer, simply because Canada has been at war since September, 1939—knows that if he does well his training will not be cut short.

In my opinion, however, none of these factors really give the key to the current rush for higher education by Canadian veterans. The Dominion's soldiers, sailors, and airmen have been conditioned for this program virtually since the day of enlistment. From 1939 on education has played a large part in the Canadian service man's life. Under the aegis of the Canadian Legion Educational Services all manner of courses were opened by the time the first troops began to move overseas early in 1940. During the long pre-invasion wait in Britain a greatly enlarged curriculum was offered, partly, no doubt, to keep the men busy and fend off the occupational ailment sometimes called *cafard*. Later, thousands of young men and women were actually pursuing university courses in combat areas, tucking textbooks into the pockets of their battle dress and writing examination papers in their spare hours out of the line.

You can get some idea of the scope of this service from a few figures. More than 2,000,000 textbooks proper were distributed in the armed forces, plus more than 500,000 other books dealing with post-war problems and more than 100,000 listed under the general head of "directed reading." I have seen these services in operation overseas—on the Continent, at bomber stations in Britain, and in naval establishments—and I can testify that Canada's young men and women were having the advantages of education put before them, and put before them attractively, day in and day out through the war years. This, I believe, is the clue to the Canadian veterans' attitude.

The educational program is not limited to veterans who want to go to college. From one end of Canada to the other every type of vocational school is in full swing, training men and women in subjects ranging from commercial art to stationary engineering. A few days ago I visited an art school conducted by one of the Dominion's outstanding commercial illustrators. In its classes more than a hundred young men, recently returned from the battlefields of Europe, were bent over drawing boards or listening to lectures.

I asked the director how many of his students would make the grade.

"You'd be surprised," he answered. "The majority of those you see here will find a place somewhere. There isn't a man in the school who's just here for the ride. Primarily they're all here because they like it. And, brother, how they work!"

The system of selection at this training school is the same that is used throughout the vocational-training structure. When the soldier is discharged he discusses his future with a veterans' adviser or with the civilian committee in his home town. If he wants to study commercial art he is sent to see a teacher in that field; after their conference the teacher may recommend him for art schooling on probation to see how he gets along; he may advise him to drop the idea and try something else for which he has more aptitude; or he may welcome him to his classes with open arms, realizing that here is a person with talent who might never have had an opportunity to go to art school but for the war and the Veterans' Program. In the case of the boy or girl who after a few weeks on probation seems to be headed for nowhere, teacher and pupil sit down and talk it over. Perhaps they have another try; perhaps the teacher persuades the pupil to try something else. If so, the student goes back to the veterans' adviser for further talks, and may either take training in another field or get a job and come back later. What Canada is trying to do is to fit square pegs into square holes, to help the veteran become what he wants to be, provided he can acquire the skill. The idea behind it all is that the country needs trained men and women. Each case is an individual case and is treated as such.

Throughout the country all manner of patriotic people are collaborating with the government in working out the plan: civilian committees in small towns, the Canadian Legion, the labor unions, the Rotary clubs, pretty nearly everybody who has an organization. Sometimes, I suspect, the veterans' advisers—who are government people—wish all these well-intentioned bodies would stay at home and attend to their knitting, and no doubt they do get into officialdom's hair at times. But that is what the government says it wants, a vital interest in the veterans' future on the part of every man and woman of good-will. The tide is high now, and the hope is that it will remain high until the job is finished, which will not be this year or next. Ian MacKenzie, Minister of Veterans' Affairs, says the program will not reach its peak for at least another year, if then.

To call Canada's program a method of discharging a debt to the fighting men would be to misunderstand the concept on which it is based. Cynics may call it a politicians' concept, but they would be wise to remember that although the plan was devised by politicians it is actually an expression of the nation's will, as witness the support given it by all parties in Parliament and by the country itself during the subsequent general election. It is one of the greatest social experiments ever conducted in the Americas.

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The People's War Goes On

BY J. ALVAREZ DEL VAYO

IT IS with mingled feelings of satisfaction and regret that I announce the end of the Political War Section. When this section was started, on September 26, 1942, I wrote:

> Our purpose is very simple. We intend to underline the revolutionary character of the war and help develop a political strategy through which the democratic elements in all countries may overcome the forces of reaction and capitulation, and free the peoples of the world from the tragic conflict of fighting under colors not their own.
>
> The section will be a weapon in this political war. It will be turned against the confusions and hesitations of democratic policy as well as against the horrors of Axis rule; against the Quislings who do Hitler's bidding in Oslo and Brussels and Vichy, but also against the potential Quislings concealed in Washington and London and Buenos Aires.

The central political idea of the section has been that World War II was started by fascism; that it had to be fought as a war against fascism; and that it would not be won until the last vestige of fascism was wiped off the earth. Looking back through the issues of *The Nation,* I am satisfied that the Political War Section has remained faithful to its purpose. In spite of the difficulty of combining unreserved support of the military conduct of the war with bold criticism of the way in which the war was being waged on the political front, I believe that its aims have been well served.

I take justified pride in a number of "scoops" which appeared in these pages. Ralph Bates wrote the first full account to appear in the American press of the Yugoslav partisan movement headed by Marshal Tito, at a time when most American liberals were still describing Mihailovich as the hero of the Balkan resistance. Later Bogdan Raditsa amplified this story in a special issue devoted to the intrigues of the reactionary opposition to Tito. From Joseph Kessel came the first dramatic recital by a writer close to the underground of the great epic of French resistance which was later to thrill the world. From the very outset we led an unrelenting fight for support of and later recognition of De Gaulle. We exposed the various forms which Darlanism took as well as the intrigues of Allied diplomacy. And we were the first to publish the full program of the De Gaulle government, long before it returned to France, in a series of articles by the former Minister Jules Moch, now a member of the French Provisional Assembly.

The alarm about Argentina was sounded by Manuel Seoane and Felix Cernuschi when the general tendency both in the State Department and in the press was still to minimize the gravity of Nazi penetration in South America, and to misinterpret the meaning of the military coup which overthrew the Castillo government. In the early summer of 1943 Gaetano Salvemini, in a series of remarkable articles, urged the Allied powers to seize the opportunity which was still open to them of pursuing a genuinely democratic policy in Italy. Basil Vlavianos, writing in the Political War Section, was one of the first to expose Britain's reactionary intrigues in Greece, and his reports were later emphasized and amplified by first-hand accounts from such able correspondents as Constantine Poulos and Philip Jordan. As for Spain, the first call for unity among the Republican exiles by Dr. Juan Negrín was published on October 17, 1942.

On the basis of first-hand information Pacificus and other writers revealed, months before Japan's defeat, the dangers of the occupation policy which American authorities were then shaping for Japan; today that policy is the subject of heated controversy in the American press. Under the pen name of Argus, the distinguished exiled German writer and editor Leopold Schwarzschild contributed a weekly column, Behind the Enemy Line, which was considered by *Nation* readers and by informed government officials one of the best commentaries available on Nazi methods of political warfare. We also printed a number of studies on post-war problems by Fritz Sternberg. And in one of the last insertions of the Political War Section, on July 28, E. H. Jacoby and Captain X gave a picture of conditions in the Philippines which revealed for the first time the methods used by the American military control under General MacArthur.

As editor of the Political War Section I have consistently maintained (1) that the Europe which was emerging from the war was going left (even though some of the most capable foreign correspondents returned from Europe with a contrary impression); (2) that the kind of political warfare being waged by the Allies must inevitably lead to profound disagreements among the United Nations, especially among the big powers, and render still more difficult the tremendous task of building the peace; (3) that there could be no possible deal with fascism—unless one fought fascism as one fights an invasion of plague-bearing rats, destroying every single source of infection, fascism would return, in two years, in five years, in ten years, to plunge the world into a third world war so terrible in its destructiveness that it must exclude even the remote possibility of a fourth.

I am of course gratified that the section's analysis of the world situation was so accurate. At the same time I must regret that many of the fears expressed here have been confirmed. The big nations are today as much engrossed in power politics as they were after the First World War and on the eve of the Second. Titular heads of ministries have changed, but the world's chancelleries are still staffed with the same sort of officials that welcomed the treason of Munich as a guaranty of peace, and they still continue to function in the same spirit of appeasement. Old-time diplomats maneuver to clear the path for a king in Spain and in Greece and in Yugoslavia and in Italy, despite the sober

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warning of republicans that they will oppose the return of these obsolete monarchies by force if necessary. Too many labor leaders, liberals, and progressives are talking and acting as if there had been no war, as if they understood nothing of the events of the past twenty-five years, as if they were incapable of learning the imperative lesson of unity. Worst of all, many people who decide policy continue to regard fascism with the same tragic lack of comprehension that precipitated this war.

It was an irresponsible general who found the issue between Nazis and anti-Nazis analogous to a "Democratic and Republican election fight." But generals are merely less careful in their pronouncements than diplomats, and many persons in high places in the Allied governments undoubtedly share Patton's view.

Events have justified our fears that the failure of the Allies to promote real democracy in the occupied countries could only lead to a dangerous neo-isolationism in America, a tendency to assume a position of complete detachment from the problems of Europe. Instead of asking themselves very honestly whether the failure of the Allied occupation policy does not stem from the lack of a clear-cut anti-fascist line, some people here are adopting a "to hell with all of you" attitude toward the people of Europe. This attitude was clearly brought out in an article in the book section of the New York *Herald Tribune* two weeks ago by John Chabot Smith, until recently the *Herald Tribune's* correspondent in Italy. Reviewing "Italy in the Coming World" by Don Luigi Sturzo, the Italian Catholic leader, Mr. Smith referred to the feeling "not infrequently expressed" by Allied officers and G. I.'s over there: "Let's give this place back to the Italians and forget about it." In 1943 at the start of the invasion of Europe we used to hear that America would be the decisive factor in shaping the world to come. Now, in the face of popular demonstrations of anti-fascist feeling, the Americans tend to damn the whole Italian people—especially the men of the resistance—as "a dirty lot," "lazy loafers," "anarchists," and turn hopeful eyes toward the "well-behaved," "orderly," "clean," "well-disciplined" Germans. What else could one expect when their military and political leaders have never made a sharp distinction between fascists and anti-fascists?

The situation I have sketched here today would seem to indicate the necessity of continuing rather than ending the Political War Section. But now that the military fight is won, the political war remains as the chief preoccupation of *The Nation* as a whole and no separate section is called for. I shall continue, however, to deal with this central theme in a regular signed page to be called The People's Front. It will begin in next week's issue.

UNREST IN INDIA

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BOOKS *and the* ARTS

NOTES BY THE WAY

BY MARGARET MARSHALL

"THE UNQUIET GRAVE" by Cyril Connolly has just been published in this country (Harper, $2.50). I discussed it more than once last spring when the English edition came into my hands. Subtitled "A Word Cycle by Palinurus," it is a bitter yet refreshing bouquet in which Mr. Connolly's own perceptive, irreverent, and "self-dismantling" comments on the quality and meaning of life are mingled with the wit and wisdom of the writers he most admires. It is one of those books which disturb and incite the mind, and I happen to feel that that is one of the primary functions of a book. But it is a function not often exercised in a period when culture itself tends to be regarded as merely another physical comfort which goes by the name of "entertainment."

A measure of this tendency, and incidentally a crude but to me sure indication of the force of Mr. Connolly's book, is the degree to which it irritated Orville Prescott, who reviews books in the daily New York *Times*. Mr. Prescott gets irritated only when something unusual turns up. Most of the time the books he has to cope with are mediocre enough or conventional enough to make him amiable and calm and even, at times, playful. But last spring, for instance, when Marguerite Young published "Angel in the Forest," which is perhaps the best book of 1945 and certainly the product of a first-rate talent, Mr. Prescott acted like a traffic cop confronted by a murder.

His reactions to "The Unquiet Grave" were of the same flustered order. He could not help admitting that Mr. Connolly is talented and learned, that there are "bright shafts of truth" and "penetrating passages" in the book which kept him from throwing it into the fire just when the impulse was becoming irresistible. He even went so far as to say that "there is something of his uncertainty and despair in all of us." But his general, and injured, feeling was that Mr. Connolly's whole purpose was to shock not only the bourgeoisie but Orville Prescott in person. And he was so outraged by Mr. Connolly's unembarrassed self-examination, by his "decadence" and his "pessimism," that I found myself wondering if Orville Prescott isn't really Oliver Allston.

Since he could not quite dismiss the book, Mr. Prescott hit back by calling Mr. Connolly "fat." And he may or may not have been responsible for an accompanying photograph which reinforced this childish attempt at insult. On the jacket of the book is a photograph of the author lying back in an arm chair. He does not, to be sure, appear sylph-like; neither does he appear to be, as Mr. Prescott implies, disgustingly fat. But this effect was achieved by the simple and distorting device of carving the head and shoulders out of the photograph of a man in a reclining position and presenting the result as if it were the portrait of a man sitting upright. It is a very mean trick, intentional or not.

I do not know how much Mr. Connolly weighs, but aside from the fact that obesity has not hitherto figured as an indication of literary merit, I don't see how anyone could use it as a weapon with which to attack a man who himself confesses, ruefully, that he is overweight and who nevertheless has the agility and wit to say that "imprisoned in every fat man a thin one is wildly signaling to be let out."

It should be mentioned, by the way, that one of Mr. Prescott's most violent reproaches against Mr. Connolly is that he "quotes many French authors in the original French without providing translations." That complaint, I think, rounds out the picture of Mr. Prescott as critic. He obviously weighs very little.

STRANGE THINGS ARE HAPPENING these days. I can remember when a liberal, almost by definition, was a person who looked upon the Hays Office and its invisible censorship as a threat to life and letters, the leading repository of philistinism, the first defense of hypocrisy, and the cold-frame of chauvinism. Last week I picked up a copy of *PM*, a liberal newspaper, and found a review of the film "Mildred Pierce" which said in effect that it should not be allowed because it would give foreigners a bad impression of America. The review, by John McManus, was headed by an unctuous statement by Eric Johnston which was a faithful rendition of the Hays line. After all, for $150,000 a year Mr. Johnston could hardly do less than maintain the low traditions of his office. "American motion pictures," it read, "are, and they must continue to be, America's greatest salesmen. . . . I learned from personal experience that in many countries the only America the people know is the America of the motion picture. We intend always to keep this in mind."

It was bad enough to find this crass nonsense raised to the status of Bible truth. But in the review itself Mr. McManus out-Johnstoned Johnston. Read, and ponder, these two paragraphs:

> The surface details will be disarmingly familiar. There is a neat, California stucco home, nesting pleasantly with many others just like it in its palmy block. Shiny, modern automobiles cluster the boulevards. . . . These are the staples of Southern California life, for which, as Eric Johnston implies, people all over the world know us and undoubtedly envy us.
>
> But what of the people with whom James M. Cain and Warner Brothers (with their pledge of combining good movie making with good citizenship) populate these characteristic settings—are they Americans?

Apparently Mr. McManus thinks it will be "good for" people all over the world to envy us. Apparently he approves of the California stucco version of American life which Hollywood and the Hays Office have conspired to jam down our throats these many years. Apparently it doesn't matter whether or not "Mildred Pierce" has anything to do with the truth

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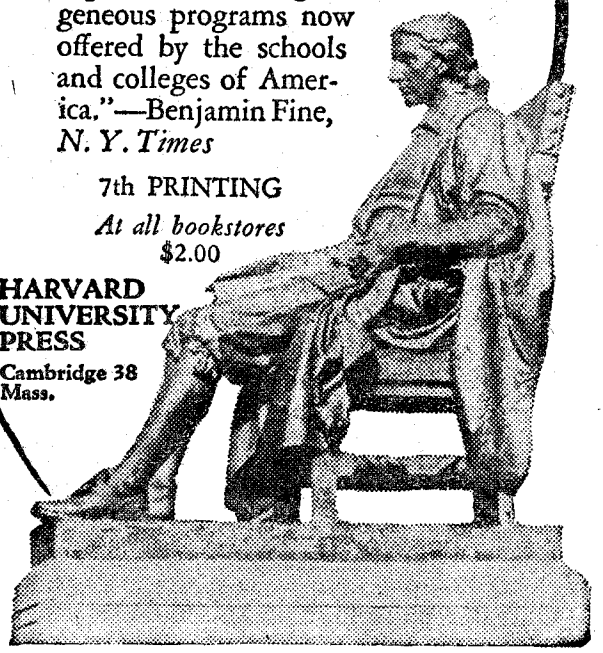

about the Americans it deals with. And apparently Mr. McManus doesn't object to censorship as long as it is called "a pledge of combining, etc."

In another paragraph Mr. McManus tosses off in passing the smug observation that "all Hollywood movies are well played and directed." And in his last paragraphs he lets himself go in an extraordinary outburst of crude demagogy and cruder prose. He can't help his prose, but somebody ought to tell him, before he disappears over the horizon in his shiny new Liberal Imperial Racer, that foreigners are almost as bright as Americans and often fail in their duty to envy California stucco; and that one way of getting overt censorship in this country is to ask for it.

WORDSWORTH said that poetry is emotion remembered in tranquillity. Norman Corwin's "On a Note of Triumph," composed in advance to celebrate V-E Day, might be described as emotion anticipated in a hubbub. That may be one reason why it isn't poetry.

WISDOM OF THE AGES: "My mother told me," said the man behind the soda fountain, "that if I didn't retire by forty I'd work till I was ninety."

Jacksonian Democracy

THE AGE OF JACKSON. By Arthur M. Schlesinger, Jr. Little, Brown and Company. $5.

THIS book is a triumph of historical scholarship, analysis, and interpretation. It is richly documented. Its author has examined with profit a wealth of manuscript material, public records, the writings of major figures in our national history, and out-of-the-way pamphlets and books of obscure figures who prove to be not so minor after all. This abundant labor throws much new light on a host of Americans, well-known and less well-known, who come to life in remarkable portraits that are both brilliant and sensitive. We learn a good deal that is new about the Jacksonian era, its relation to the Jeffersonian age it succeeded and to the periods that have followed. The book is admirably written in athletic, graphic prose, relieved by passages that are moving and tender but never sentimental. It succeeds as books rarely do in making a major contribution to history as a social science and in exemplifying the best canons of history as a branch of literature.

It is impossible in a few words to do anything like justice to Mr. Schlesinger's analysis of the crisis which the American heritage of equal opportunity first encountered in the rising industrial community a hundred years ago; to the far more important role played by urban workers in that crisis than we have assumed; to the significant part of the intellectuals; and to the relationships between the larger theory of Jacksonian democracy and law, religion, literature, economics, and politics. It is clear that the frontier was a less weighty factor in the rise and career of Jacksonian democracy than has been commonly supposed. It is also clear that class conflicts figured more substantially in American development than most Americans have been wont to think. It is no less apparent that the key to an understanding of what was accomplished

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and what was not accomplished is to be found neither in the approach of the thoroughgoing economic deterministsnor in that of the exponents of the autonomy of absolute moral values nor in the defensive emphasis of certain historical champions of the reform impulse on the one hand and of pro-agrarian apologists for the slave interest on the other. The key is rather to be found in movements of economic interest, fluctuating between antagonisms and alliances; in the structure of power; and in the dynamic role of values and ideas, all in a shifting, subtle interdependency.

Mr. Schlesinger, the son of Professor Schlesinger of Harvard, has not only written a first-rate and eminently readable book for scholars: he has at the same time produced a book which American liberals should welcome for the light it throws on the past, present, and future of democracy. Mr. Schlesinger, in a greater measure than is common among historians, writes with an eye on our time and on tomorrow. He is of course thoroughly aware that the tensions and struggles of the Jacksonian era were far simpler than those of today. Yet he succeeds in writing a history which is a useful instrument for understanding the conflicts in American life today and, perhaps, for directing them toward peaceful, intelligent, and democratic solutions. His underlying assumptions and values are those of the relativist rather than the absolutist, of the actualist rather than the theorist. He lets us appreciate in new and fresh ways the moods, resources, methods, and values of the democratic process of trial and error, compromise, tolerance, and proximate rather than complete solutions of social and economic tensions. His contribution toward an understanding of the stubborn and difficult problems of means, of the uses and abuses of the flexible approach toward tactics and strategy, is especially notable. Not only can weary and bewildered liberals learn much from the pages of "The Age of Jackson"; they should find their faith in democracy as an instrument for action today renewed, deepened, and extended. MERLE CURTI

BRIEFER COMMENT

Primers for Adults

BRITAIN IN WAR TIME took to reading as never before. Nor was this just a form of escapism. Blacked out, the people sought intellectual light, and books on history and current political and social problems vied in popularity with detective stories. Plagued as they were by the paper shortage, British publishers did their best to cater to this new thirst for knowledge. Many new series of short primers, designed to convey information in a concise, popular, but not condescending manner, appeared in the bookshops.

The British Survey Handbooks edited by John Eppstein (Macmillan, $1 each) are examples of this development. Number 4, "Hungary," and Number 5, "Denmark," manage to compress into less than 100 pages a great many facts about the history, geography, politics, and economic life of the countries with which they deal. They are written clearly but without much distinction of style. Generally the tone is severely objective, though in describing the Hungarian re-

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gime the author of the Hungarian volume tends, perhaps, to give the devil more than his due. Both books devote a considerable proportion of their space to the war years, bringing their story down to the end of 1944. Thus in the Danish volume there is an excellent account of the resistance movement, whose remarkable campaign against the Nazi invaders reached a carefully planned climax on D-Day.

KEITH HUTCHISON

Mr. Nathan Carries On

THE THIRD ANNUAL VOLUME of George Jean Nathan's "The Theater Book of the Year" (Knopf, $3) follows the pattern previously laid down by the author, who is without question one of the most indefatigable playgoers, as well as one of the most unflagging commentators, the world has ever known. Again he sets down for every play produced in New York during the season of 1944-45 the author, cast, date of production, and length of run, thus providing a chronicle to which future historians as well as present-day readers can turn. Again, also, he then adds his own critical estimate of the play, together with whatever bits of theatrical history, scraps of gossip, wisecracks, purple patches of indignation, and assorted obiter dicta occur to him. Probably no one else in America remembers in detail so many plays and just what happens in each of them; certainly no one has firmer opinions concerning them all or tosses these opinions about more debonairly. One never knows what one is going to find or where one is going to find it, and Mr. Nathan, being an odd cross between the encyclopedist and the boulevardier, does his best to offend all earnest souls. But those who are not distressed by flippancy of manner will discover in time that there is probably more good sound sense about the contemporary theater per page of his writing than will be found in any other commentator who concerns himself with it.

JOSEPH WOOD KRUTCH

Stef, Kenning, Drapa

IF YOU DO NOT KNOW what a stef is, or a kenning, or a drápa; if you never heard of Bragi Boddason the Old, or Thiódólf of Hvin, or Einar Helgason, among others, you can now find out by examining "The Skalds: A Selection of Their Poems," with an Introduction and Notes by Lee M. Hollander, which was published for the American-Scandinavian Foundation by the Princeton University Press ($2.75). Primarily, and seriously, intended for the student of Old Norse, this book contains matter of interest to the general reader, especially if he has an ear and a passion for metrics. A thousand years ago the Skalds were, not writing, but at least sitting up nights composing, in a highly traditionalized style, verses which they never put down but which, thanks to their own memorable qualities and the industry of Snorri Sturluson, we can enjoy a millennium, more or less, after their date of issue. Courtiers but not sycophants, more subservient to the complicated rules of their art than to the caprice of their kings, analphabetes yet devoted to Gongoresque preciosities—curious fellows, indeed, these Skalds, interesting and rugged. The story of Egil Skallagrimsson, "who combined the man of action with the poet," is particularly moving.

ROLFE HUMPHRIES

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"He Rode with Jeb Stuart"

WILLIAM WILLIS BLACKFORD enlisted in the First Virginia Cavalry before the Battle of Bull Run. From then until Appomattox he missed only one major campaign of the Army of Northern Virginia, and then he was on sick leave. As adjutant to Jeb Stuart, he was closely associated with that dashing cavalryman until, three months before Stuart's death, Blackford was transferred to the engineers.

Some twenty years later Blackford wrote his memoirs of the war. For more than half a century the manuscript was kept by his family, and was known to only a few scholars. It is now published for the first time—"War Years with Jeb Stuart" (Scribner's, $3). In it the reader will find the only adequate contemporary account of service in the Confederate engineer troops; perhaps the best, and certainly one of the three best, contemporary accounts of the military career of Jeb Stuart; observations about Von Borcke, Pelham, Mosby, Geary, and a host of other Confederate leaders; and, above all, a book which is both charmingly written and unusually accurate.

RALPH ADAMS BROWN

Argument for Conscription

"UNIVERSAL TRAINING," by Colonel Edward A. Fitzpatrick, A. U. S. (Whittlesey House, $3), is a useful, in the main objective discussion of its controversial subject. The president of Mount Mary College has, with calm clarity, presented his point of view—for universal military training—undisguised by any sociological or educational sugar-coating. This Catholic educator frankly joins hands with the conservative army and the New Dealer Harry Hopkins (*vide* the *American Magazine,* March, 1945) in saying that in the absence of an effective world organization military necessity and national defense require a larger army (and navy) than we have ever had before; that voluntary enlistment will not suffice because it has never been equal to the task in the past; that, therefore, the best way to achieve the necessary military protection is through a year of true military training for practically all eighteen-year-old boys.

The argument of the book suffers on four counts: (1) it was written before the atomic bomb necessarily changed strategic and even tactical preparations for warfare; (2) it does not examine the possibility for a shared world defense system, which presumably the United Nations Organization is to establish, or the effect of this on national military needs; (3) by citing historical examples of failure in the army volunteer system it illogically argues that all volunteer systems are doomed—ignoring various proposals put forward for a volunteer system by G. I.'s (not brass hats!) in this war, and the comparative ease and success of the volunteer system always used by the navy until the Presidential Order of December 5, 1943, stopped all such enlistments; (4) it neatly skirts the issue of whether one year of active training is really adequate even under present concepts. Evidence has already been offered to the contrary, particularly in the more skilled technologies of warfare. In this same connection, in speaking of the "reserve forces" after the year of training it overlooks completely the factor of technological obsolescence and its effects on evaluating a "trained" reserve.

Despite these criticisms Colonel Fitzpatrick's volume is certainly the best presentation thus far of "one side" of the argument.

FRANK N. TRAGER

Next Week in *The Nation*

LEON HENDERSON

will review

"Germany Is Our Problem"

By HENRY MORGENTHAU, JR.

Underseas Men

"IF YOU'RE GOING to set down the story of the submarines," a veteran officer of the "silent service" advised Robert J. Casey, "you must first set down the story of the man inside the submarine. . . . He is not yet the forgotten man of the United States military services because he has never yet been known." Mr. Casey has done his best—and it is a good best—to make amends to the submariner. "Battle Below" (Bobbs-Merrill, $3.50) touches briskly and brightly on the curious history of the submarine service, its own Bunyanesque lore and terminology, and the large store of specific deeds of derring-do in the war which it helped so largely to win. The monotony, the claustrophobia, and the numbness—sometimes nausea—that afflict a crew under prolonged depth-charge bombardment emerge from Mr. Casey's lucid reporting, as well as the camaraderie and courage of men who without even seeing their target—and few of them do—fight a mechanical war and die secretly and without glory. Two other books, "Silversides" by Robert Trumbull (Holt, $2.50) and "U. S. S. Seawolf" by Gerold Frank and James D. Horan, with J. M. Eckberg (Putnam's, $2.75), add to the laurels belatedly being heaped on the underseas men. Concerned with the sagas of individual ships, they are neither as broad in scope as Mr. Casey's volume nor as lively.

R. B.

The Lesson of 1919

THE STORY OF AMERICA'S REJECTION of the League of Nations and withdrawal into its shell of isolationism has been told many times but never as clearly and effectively as by Alan Cranston in "The Killing of the Peace" (Viking, $2.50). It is largely the story of the incredible vanity and skill in political manipulation of one man—Henry Cabot Lodge. For in 1919 as in 1945 American public opinion was overwhelmingly in favor of participation in a world organization to preserve the peace. Lodge himself had spoken in support of such an organization in 1916, and the leaders of both parties were strongly committed to it. But Lodge hated Wilson, and he was determined that the Senate should play an active and not a passive role in treaty making. These two considerations impelled him to try to destroy whatever Wilson sought to create. By insisting on a perfect League that would make it impossible for other countries to pursue selfish or nationalistic interests and, at the same time, on safeguards for America's special interests, he bedeviled Wilson into making impossible compromises which he imme-

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diately attacked on principle. When the treaty finally reached the Senate, he fought not against the League but against this and that detail in the proposed organization until the Senate and the public at large were completely confused over the issues. Then, by exploiting partisanship to the utmost, he succeeded in forcing through a series of amendments that made the League unpalatable to foe and friend alike.

Although many of these pitfalls have been avoided in steering the charter of the World Security Organization through the Senate without serious opposition, there are still lessons to be gained from this record that are applicable in 1945. The recent Foreign Ministers' Conference in London illustrates the difficulties of adjustment and accommodation that have to be made among the powers before we can get a satisfactory peace. The Paris Peace Conference went through the same difficult stage, but Wilson faced the added problem of constant pressure from home. This book will have served its purpose if it helps to persuade Americans to grant our representatives at the peace table a free hand so that they may base their actions on the interests of the world as a whole without restraints imposed by domestic partisanship. MAXWELL S. STEWART

To the North

THE MIGRATIONS OF NEGROES from the South to Northern cities have been the subject of numerous scientific social studies. But it has remained for Arna Bontemps and Jack Conroy in "They Seek a City" (Doubleday, Doran, $2.75) to describe the dramatic aspects of these movements in terms of the personal experiences of the pioneers. Beginning with the story of Du Sable, the French Negro who built his hut at the mouth of the Chicago River in 1779, the authors trace the colorful careers of Negroes, both slave and free, who sought freedom in the West, and more particularly in the Midwest. In these pages one will meet John Jones, a free Negro of North Carolina, who amassed a fortune in Chicago and was a friend of John Brown. Here one will find the dramatic story of "Pap" Singleton and the "Exodusters" whom he led to Kansas. There is an especially colorful account of prominent leaders, such as Frederick Douglass, and of others who later became prominent, such as Paul Lawrence Dunbar, the poet, and Will Marion Cook, the composer, who met at the World's Fair in Chicago in 1893. There are the stories of the black troubadours who gave America the blues, and the romantic story of Adah Menken, the mulatto from New Orleans, who became the mistress of Dumas *père*. The accounts of the early attempts of the Negro to gain a foothold in Northern industries around the opening of the century and of the violence which resulted will enable the reader to view in proper perspective the present situation of the Negro in the North. When the authors come to the mass migrations beginning with the First World War, their account loses much of its drama because individuals do not stand out. Here the story is more concerned with issues and problems. Nevertheless, the book is unique and should be read by anyone who would gain a knowledge of the human meaning of the northward migrations. E. FRANKLIN FRAZIER

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Drama

JOSEPH WOOD KRUTCH

MARGARET WEBSTER, as everyone knows, is a director who has made Shakespeare pay off on Broadway. Undoubtedly, however, she has got very tired of hearing grudging critics complain that the bard's poetry tended to get lost in the shuffle, and that fact may have inclined her to tackle with enthusiasm a dramatization of a novel by a man who boasted that he did not have any. "Therese" (Biltmore Theater) is based on Zola's somewhat dubious classic "Thérèse Raquin," and if I may rely on a memory now some thirty years stale, it captures pretty completely the air and tone of that ancient shocker, which means that despite a certain ponderous and dogged obviousness it is interesting and effective.

The story it tells is a story of violence as brutal as the violence of "Macbeth" but with all the poetry left out, and left out, that is to say, not only of the language but of the whole characterization, motivation, and interpretation as well. "Sordid" was the descriptive adjective preferred by Zola's contemporary detractors, but to our somewhat tougher generation that seems almost too positive a word, and "prosaic" will possibly serve.

Therese, in the novel, was a commonplace, lower-middle-class woman who conceived an ordinary passion for a rather ordinary man, helped to murder her husband in order to marry the lover, and then discovered that Banquo's ghost was always seated at the feast of love. It was not, goodness knows, that she or her paramour had a very sensitive soul. It requires the most tangible and obvious reminders of the dead husband to bring on their desperation, and even so they do not finally confess to the police until the devoted and now paralyzed mother of the dead man spells out with dominoes the truth she has long known.

In one sense nothing could be more moral. Murder, says the "scientific" novelist, will out. The most thick-skinned and egotistical of killers will feel a sense of guilt. But in another sense Zola's detractors were right. There is something fundamentally immoral in so coarse-grained a picture of human life and human character. Such a work cannot possibly be very profoundly moving. On the other hand, it cannot, if well executed in its own terms, very well help being at least as interesting as a good reporter's account of such a police-court drama.

Miss Webster succeeds very well indeed, and she succeeds, I think, because she makes no attempt to subtilize a tale for which she manages to invent a theatrical style that is a satisfactory equivalent of Zola's heavy-handed effectiveness. Everything is brutally obvious, no point could possibly be missed, and nothing is merely implied. One result is that almost any kind of audience anywhere could understand and, to some extent, be interested in the events taking place.

On the program Eva Le Gallienne, Victor Jory, and Dame May Whitty are starred with equal prominence. Actually, however, though the first two players give satisfactory performances of a theatrically competent but undistinguished sort, Dame May gives an astonishing demonstration of virtuosity, which, nevertheless, and difficult though it may be to believe, is kept sufficiently near the general style of the whole production so that she does not destroy the effect by shining out too conspicuously. Undoubtedly her performance is going to be much and deservedly praised; and for that very reason it is perhaps worth while not to let it go at that but to define the character of her achievement a little more closely.

She plays, of course, the mother who must first learn that her beloved weakling of a son is dead, must then overhear the self-reproaches of the guilty pair, be stricken at that moment with apoplexy, and, finally, after helplessly watching the murderers for a long time, regain just power enough to spell out her accusation. Obviously this is a tall order, but, for all that, not one which requires the highest gifts of subtlety or imagination. Any one of the big scenes is the sort of thing which a student in a dramatic school might be given as a problem, and Dame May solves each problem as superbly as a competent instructor in such a school might solve it. Here is a demonstration of pure naturalism at its most accomplished. Everything is done without strain and with just that special sort of under-emphasis which even the least perceptive spectator is bound to recognize as purposeful under-emphasis rather than ineffectualness. In other words, the proper execution of the part calls for a veteran, and it is as a very capable veteran that Dame May plays it.

Dance

B. H. HAGGIN

BALANCHINE'S ballets are like Mozart's piano concertos: the creative mind and imagination and personality, the language and style in which these express themselves, are always the same; the completed forms are constantly new and fascinating. This is true of "Concerto Barocco," Balanchine's classic ballet to the three movements of Bach's D minor Concerto for two violins, which the Monte Carlo Ballet Russe has added to its repertory. The two Allegros lead to and away from an Andante in which the familiar Balanchine materials are used in a sequence of dance-movement that is one of the most excitingly, overwhelmingly beautiful things I have seen done on a stage. It is danced with more fluency by Marie-Jeanne than by Ruthanna Boris; but both are excellent in the Allegros; and the intricacies of the work are executed with precision and grace by the little group of dancers that Balanchine has trained so well. One flaw in the production must be noted: when first produced by Lincoln Kirstein for the South American tour of his American Ballet the work had scenery and costumes that did not carry out Eugene Berman's designs to his satisfaction and that he did not want used now; and the Monte Carlo management's way of dealing with this situation has been to have the work danced in practice-tights against a blue backdrop. A better way would have been to have Berman's designs carried out to his satisfaction.

"Concerto Barocco" has been added to the five Balanchine masterpieces that the Monte Carlo offered last year. Certain of these have not been affected by the changes in the company's personnel, but others have been harmed. The "Grand Adagio" (called "Pas de Deux" last year) danced by Danilova and Franklin, and "Danses Concertantes," also with Danilova and Franklin, are as brilliant as they were; and not only is Tallchief excellent in Moylan's place in "Le Bourgeois Gentilhomme," but the comedy has been elaborated and perfected and the piece moves with a smoothness and continuity it did not have last year. But "Ballet Imperial" is badly blurred by Krassovska's lack of the precision, sharpness, and clarity, and even the technical security of Moylan's dancing. And though most of "Mozartiana"—with

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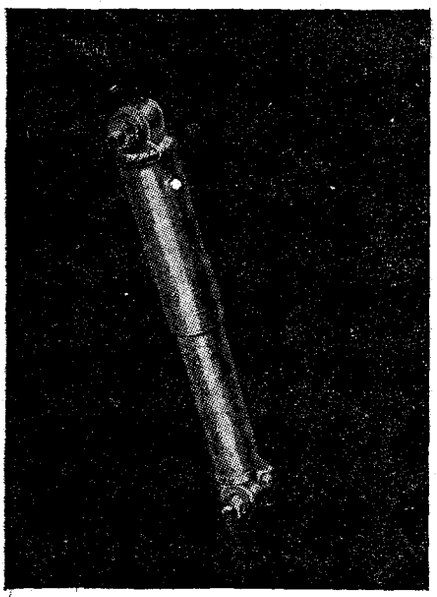

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Danilova, Franklin, Etheridge, Tallchief, and the small ensemble—remains "as fresh and glistening as creation itself," Lazovsky's opening Gigue is knocked completely out of shape by Lompakos, who does it now without Lazovsky's sense of rhythm, his ease and elegance based on technical mastery. One realizes from this how ballets change after their first performances by the dancers for whom they have been created: if that much can happen to the Gigue from one season to the next with Balanchine on hand to watch over it, imagine what has happened to the ballets which have been passed from dancer to dancer, company to company, for ten or twenty or fifty years.

In these new works the Monte Carlo offers one group of the greatest things one can see in ballet; and another group is the performances of old classics in which Danilova appears: the company's beautiful performance of "Coppelia," which she makes enchanting; the performances of "The Nutcracker" and "Swan Lake" (not given in the recent New York season), which, when she appears in them, she enriches with an art that grows ever more wonderful—this developing art being what age gives her while it takes away mere stamina. It is the same thing as has happened in the singing of Lotte Lehmann; and this suggests a further analogy: Danilova's classic dancing is, in relation to Markova's, as Lehmann's *Lieder*-singing is in relation to Elisabeth Schumann's. That is, the line that is so pure in Markova's "Swan Lake" or "Nutcracker" performance is suffused with personal warmth and radiance and graciousness in Danilova's.

And still another musical analogy suggests itself. In addition to the expressive force, the poignancy, the loveliness, and everything else that makes a work of Mozart wonderful, there are the ways the things happen, the ways they come into existence, the precise way, for example, a woodwind adds itself to strings at a certain point. These are the unobtrusive, effortless, inevitable manifestations of extraordinary human powers; and under the impact of their succession it is sometimes difficult to keep from crying out in excitement and delight. The same thing is true of the succession of movements in the Andante of Balanchine's "Concerto Barocco." And it is true of the succession of movements in Danilova's "Nutcracker" performance.

In this connection there is something to say about Franklin as Danilova's partner in classic ballets. He has developed into a highly accomplished classic dancer, with this unusual and engaging additional characteristic—that the movements which an Eglevsky or a Youskevitch executes with nobility or grandeur Franklin executes with his own happiness and sweetness.

All these, with "Rodeo," which has Franklin back in the cast, are the good things the Monte Carlo offers. The poor things I will speak of next time.

As for Ballet Theater—impresarios consider press criticism only another form of publicity, and press tickets its painful cost (they appear to believe that they are going to be able to take it all with them); and Ballet Theater's management hit on the idea of restricting its *Nation* publicity—and press tickets—to the new productions while *The Nation* has the idea that its readers, like those of the *Times* and the *Herald Tribune,* should also receive a report on performances of important older works. The result: impasse and no report.

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Letters to the Editors

Self-propulsive Housing

Dear Sirs: Several bills are pending in Congress to stimulate research and invention. Radar and the atom bomb have dramatized the scientific use of the human imagination for destructive purposes, and statistics show that inventors are dwindling in numbers at a rapid pace. Why not research and invention to assist in full employment? It sounds reasonable, but there's a catch.

Full employment can be maintained only by satisfying mass needs. However "marvelous" an invention may be, it has little effect on mass employment so long as it can satisfy only or largely class needs. The airplane and any number of other products of applied science require heavy subsidies to be of even limited class use. Whether or not we achieve peace-time full employment will depend on the extent to which inventors are permitted to change mass tastes in the fields of our greatest investment—housing and motor vehicles. So long as design in the old aristocratic and handicraft traditions of conspicuous display dominates both fields, so long as emphasis is placed on styling instead of on consumer availability, we shall not have full employment.

Take motor vehicles. For more than a decade prior to Pearl Harbor the sales of motor vehicles hugged a dead level. Ninety-five per cent of research and inventive emphasis went into cutting production costs and into glitter and gadgets which would keep the consumer paying more for a constantly cheapened product. The cost of labor and material used for building a good motor car dropped to $250; but the consumer paid four to five times that amount, plus carrying charges, to enjoy a product useful only in motion, which averaged 2 per cent of the car's life. The average American could own a car useless 98 per cent of the time only at fourth to tenth hand. Let research and invention achieve a wholly new and superior kind of motor car, useful all the time, and the automobile makers will go right on building the old kind of car cheaper and cheaper while styling it to sell for more and more.

Take housing. A land mortgage used to be the most "gilt-edged" of investments. But while technology was forging swiftly ahead in other fields, public taste in housing was encouraged to remain in the old handicraft ruts good for landowners, money-lenders, handicraftsmen, and brick salesmen. In consequence, mortgages became such risky investments that the government had to step in and insure them, blind to the fact that this automatically would discourage innovation completely and swing dwelling design farther out of step with the imperatives of a power age.

Full peace-time employment leans on mass consumption. Mass consumption is not possible under any system so long as design emphasis is on the "exclusive" and is unrelated to existing income levels. Mass consumption is not possible for a world tooled for propulsion but taught to yearn for a brick anchorage. Mass consumption is not possible without doubling mass leisure. We shall keep machines busy only as ingenuity and design are encouraged to implement mass leisure and to change mass tastes radically. We shall keep machines busy only as we realize that the multiplication of energy by mechanical means multiplies the motion about us and that we might better adjust ourselves to a mobile environment and shelter our mobility. Here is the real research job facing our generation. Before atomic energy vastly increases the motion in our environment, can we learn to give up domestic tastes better suited to sponges than to mechanics?

Obviously self-propulsive housing will not have to go underground. It will be proof against the atom bomb by means of diffusion during war time over an area so great that no bomb could destroy more than a few units at a time. It will be somewhat ironic to see planners clearing our slums and rebuilding them with public savings when one single atom bomb can wipe out several square miles and the savings of a generation in an instant. Unfortunately innovation is usually over the dead bodies of bankers, and in America the power of bankers still dictates the stylized outer shell and the withered kernel of design.

CORWIN WILLSON

Flint, Mich., August 22

Lewisohn, Freud, and Trilling

Dear Sirs: In his review The Problem of Influence, in *The Nation* of September 8, Lionel Trilling is guilty of a factual error with important implications. He describes the old days of Greenwich Village as a time when, among other things, "Ludwig Lewisohn warped Freud to the interests of Zionism." Miss Kirchwey and Dr. Krutch, at least, will remember that when I lived on Jane Street and was a member of *The Nation's* editorial staff I had not declared myself a Zionist. Nor had I professed any special acquaintance with the teachings of Freud, to which I was introduced much later by Sigmund Freud himself, who honored me with his friendship because he liked my writings. It was during the thirties and forties that I wrote the Zionist books which are read wherever Jews live; today I edit the *New Palestine* with its circulation of 140,000. But it takes no deep analysis, only the simplest moral reflection, to understand why Jews of Mr. Trilling's temper seek always to thrust their people's destiny and their people's cause into some remote and trivial limbo.

LUDWIG LEWISOHN

Washington, D. C., September 12

Dear Sirs: I am sorry if I was misleading about the precise date of Mr. Lewisohn's becoming a Zionist. The sentence that Mr. Lewisohn objects to was intended to refer to his inaccurate and doctrinaire use of Freudian ideas to support his Jewish position in general, and I used the word Zionism in, as it were, extension. I had particularly in mind the novel "The Island Within," published in 1928, with its psychoanalytical explanation of why the Jewish hero must leave his Gentile wife and return to the

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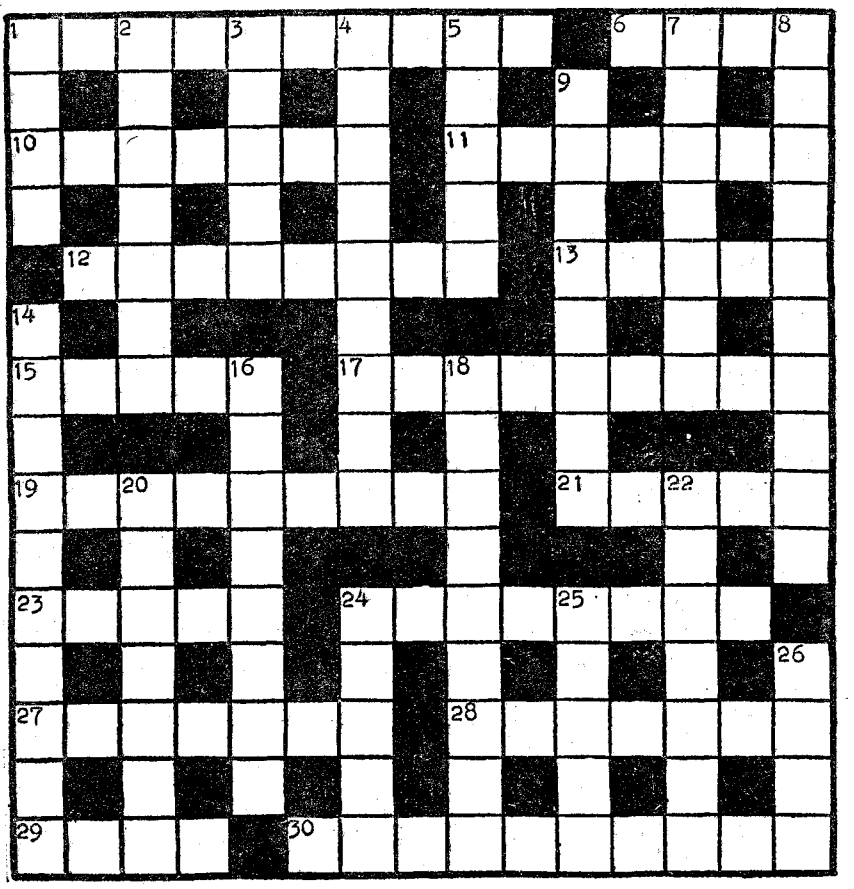
Crossword Puzzle No. 131

By JACK BARRETT



ACROSS

1 The only legal game of dice
6 Not exclusively mine
10 It's obvious that the dunce is not bright in the head
11 Samuel Pepys, for example
12 More substantial than a straw to a drowning man
13 Warble
15 Largest musical instrument
17 England's Poet Laureate
19 Curiosities (hyphen, 4-1-4)
21 This grease is non-existent
23 Feathered and non-feathered biped's burst into these
24 They help circus artistes to give sparkling performances
27 Imprisons
28 A delightful place, according to the Greeks
29 Feature about which Cyrano de Bergerac was rather sensitive
30 Eggs at Rome (anag.)

DOWN

1 "A demd, damp, moist, unpleasant ----!"
2 Naming one's profession?
3 "But she is in her -----, and oh, The difference to me"
4 Time of year when the fairies dance
5 Queerly
7 Put to profitable use
8 Most of us prefer to settle up before we do this (two words, 6 and 4)
9 Hypocritical priest in Moliere's comedy of the same name
14 Burning which may be slow or spontaneous
16 A famous floating menagerie (two words, 5 and 3)
18 The Lord's Supper
20 Sets alight
22 It fairly buzzes with industry
24 A Kid in Western literature
25 Mussolini's quondam "mouthpiece"
26 The Crossword birds par excellence

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE No. 130

ACROSS:—1 GAVOTTE; 5 BICYCLE; 9 MANNING; 10 NORMANS; 11 LUSTY; 12 ASH; 13 LIEGE; 14 SAND EEL; 16 EMERSON; 18 BATHERS; 21 DOGROSE; 24 DITTO; 26 AIR; 27 BREAD; 28 OPINION; 29 ASUNDER; 30 KREMLIN; 31 SUNSETS.

DOWN:—1 GAMBLES; 2 VENISON; 3 TOITY; 4 ENGRAIL; 5 BANSHEE; 6 CORAL; 7 CHASERS; 8 EASTERN; 15 EVE; 17 EGG; 18 BEDROCK; 19 TITMICE; 20 SHANNON; 21 DURBARS; 22 OVERDUE; 23 ENDURES; 25 ORIEL; 27 BRUIN.

Jewish fold. I do not remember whether or not this novel issues in an explicit political Zionism; even if it does not, it is obviously the prolegomenon to Mr. Lewisohn's later position. Whether the old Greenwich Village days still existed in 1928 or must be dated by Mr. Lewisohn's residence in Jane Street, I leave to the historians. Perhaps here the difference between Mr. Lewisohn and myself is like that of the disputants in Joe Cook's vaudeville act—one of them, it turned out, meant the old Polo Grounds while the other meant the old *old* Polo Grounds.

As for my temper as a Jew, Mr. Lewisohn knows nothing about it except that I do not admire his books—but I am sure that I do not have to deal with Mr. Lewisohn's strange supposition that any adverse comment on Mr. Lewisohn's art and thought is a malign effort to thwart the destiny and cause of the Jews.

LIONEL TRILLING

New York, September 25

The Hare System for Japan

Dear Sirs: Mr. Salisbury's article The Zaibatsu as War Makers together with T. A. Bisson's What Program for Japan? in your issue of July 14 suggested an effective way to handle Japan. The editorial Occupying Japan of August 25 confirmed it. It hinges entirely on the adoption by Japan, and Korea when given an independent status, of the same electoral system that has proved so successful in Eire — the Hare system of proportional representation in multi-member constituencies.

Such an electoral system could be worked out and an election held within the next two or three years. If the first elections were supervised by the occupation armies to insure freedom from intimidation, the resulting democratic parliament and government would immediately free Japan from the oligarchic control which has been its curse. From that time on occupation forces could be nominal, and treaties would be honored. *The Nation's* list of suggested experts on Japan is good. Mr. Bisson's name would be a helpful addition.

The American expert on electoral systems, particularly the Hare system of proportional representation used in New York City, Cincinnati, Eire, and some parts of Canada, is George H. Hallett, Jr., secretary of the Citizens' Union, New York City. Arrangements might be made with Mr. Hallet to organize such an electoral system for Japan and Korea.

WILSON M. SOUTHAM

Ottawa, Canada, August 31

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